THE

SCOTS DESIGNE DISCOVERED.

Relating their dangerous attempts lately practiſed againſt the Engliſh Nation, with the ſad conſequence of the ſame.

Wherein divers matters of Publick concernment are diſcloſed. And the Book called *Truths Manifeſt*, is made apparent to be *Lyes Manifeſt*.

by Mabb. Kinnaird Esq.

Simulata pietas duplex iniquitas.

LONDON,
Printed, and are to be ſold at the Marygold in S. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1654.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

VINDICIÆ VERITATIS.

OR

AN ANSVVER

TO

A DISCOURSE intituled,

TRUTH IT'S MANIFEST;

Diſcovering the manifeſt Falſhoods, malicious Slanders, & ſeditious Practices, which therein are masked under this ſpecious name of *Truth*: and ſhewing how this Diſcourſe was printed and ſpread abroad by the Author thereof, to uphold and maintain the credit of the *Scots* his Countrey-men, and to excuſe and palliate many unworthy carriages of theirs; accuſing, aſperſing, and ſlandering thoſe, who deſerved beſt, for refuſing to joyn with them in thoſe unworthy actions, but rather oppoſing them.

Wherein alſo divers Paſſages worth Obſervation, touching the late Transactions, are occaſionally inſerted; perhaps not ſo fully as yet laid open to the view of the World.

PROV. 18. 17. *Every man is right in his own Cauſe, until his Neighbour come and inquire after him.*

PROV. 26. 5. *Anſwer a fool according to his folly, leſt he be wiſe in his own conceit.*

PROV. 12. 22. *Lying lips are an abomination unto the Lord, but they that deal truly are his delight.*

PSALM 120. 3, 4. *What ſhall be given unto thee, or what ſhall be done unto thee thou falſe tongue? ſharp arrows of the Mightie with coals of juniper.*

PROV. 12. 19. *The lip of truth ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever; but a lying tongue is but for a moment.*

Printed in the Year 1654.

To the Reader.

I Cannot but think when this Anſwer ſhall come forth, it will be thought ſtrange it hath been ſo long deferred, and yet to be publiſhed now: it is very true, that I had gone through a good part of it, and ſeeing this Incendiary, after he had publiſhed this Pamphlet, ſtill perſiſt in ſpreading Papers, and practiſing to abuſe the people; I thought to have finiſhed it (though much hindered at that time with buſineſs of far greater moment) and to have publiſhed it, to diſcover him, and prevent the miſchief he ſought to do, in abuſing thoſe that were ſo ſimple, as not to perceive the deſigns which were carried on by theſe Paper-practiſes; but when he was cloſely hunted after for them, and ſo near followed, that he was made to take his heels and run away, and get himſelf for ſhelter into his own Countrey; having greater buſineſs then lying upon my hands, and conceiving that the danger would not be ſo much now, when men ſaw he was conſtrained to run away for his practiſes, and that he could not ſtill run about the Citie, to blow this coal he had caſt amongſt the ſimpler ſort, as he calls them, nor fling about other fire-brands, as he could meet with them, and catch them up any where, which was his practiſe while he was in Town; I caſt it out of my hands, and thought to trouble my ſelf no further in raking up ſuch rags as theſe were, and diſcovering what deceitfull ſtuff they were made up of: ſo for ſome years I let it lie, not thinking to meddle further with it: Any man that ſhall read it, will eaſily perceive the interval of time that there is between the writing of one part of this Anſwer and another. But What it was that induced me to alter my reſolution, and after ſo long a time to take into my hands again ſuch a poor Piece and Pamphlet as this, and take the pains to finiſh an Anſwer to it, I could ſet down, I think, to the ſatisfaction of unprejudiced men, I am ſure of my ſelf, very fully; but it may be it would offend ſome, whom I would not anger at this time; therefore I will proceed no further in it, but onely ſay, that uppon occaſion given me, by the impudent boldneſs of this Pedant, in venting and publiſhing ſuch things, as very much reflect upon the two Houſes of Parliament, and upon the Kingdom of England, to magnifie his Scots, and which ill-affected men, and thoſe, who are ſtrangers to our affairs, are now likely to make their uſe of, and in their writings tranſmit to poſteritie, to the reproach of the Parliament and this whole Nation; I have in this Anſwer, in divers places, diſcovered the Falſhood of thoſe imputations laid upon the Parliament, and evil ſurmiſes concerning their Intentions in their Proceedings; & juſtified them in the ground they had to take up Arms at firſt, and in the realitie of their intentions in making uſe of thoſe Arms, ſhewing what alone they aimed at; and that being therein ſecured (which they had reaſon

to expect and ſtand upon) they would willingly have laid down their Arms, *and been glad to ſee all things ſetled in* peace *according to* the antient and true conſtitution of this Government. *If it ſhall be* objected, *that* in doing this I become an Undertaker without Commiſſion, *like to him whom I have reproved for the ſame*; I anſwer, *I do not ingage my ſelf What the* Parliament *ſhall do, or make bum-baſted Declarations, and fooliſh in the name of the* Parliament, *as this bold* Pedant *doth for the State of* Scotland, *and in the name of all the* Scots *(though ſure neither the States of* Scotland, *nor all the* Scots *were this Schoolmaſters ſcholars, that he ſo confidently can undertake for them, what they ſhould do, nor is it likely, that one of his condition, which makes him ſtand at that diſtance, ſhould be of their Cabinet Council, as be by his untertakings would make himſelf) But* I onely joyn my ſelf with the Parliament, as being One of them, & knowing as much as another man, I may ſay What was their Senſe & Reſolution, *and that not onely by their publick Declarations & Proteſtations, whereby it is made manifeſt, but alſo by that* Intimacie, which I had with the Men of moſt Eſteem, and moſt hearkened unto, and therefore Leading-men amongſt them, whoſe Intentions, and Reſolutions I was not ignorant of: *I might therefore joyn my ſelf with the reſt, and knowingly ſay,* what we reſolved to do, *and* what we would not do, *without incurring that reproof which this* Pedant *juſtly deſerveth for his undertakings. And I am ſure I may truly ſay, it may be affirmed and juſtified to all the World, & made good againſt all, who ſhall oppoſe it, That* the two Houſes, The Parliament of *England*, had a lawfull and a juſt cauſe to tak up Arms for their own Defence, & for the Defence of the eſtabliſhed Government of this Kingdom, againſt force and violence intended againſt them, *The two Houſes of* Parliament *being according to the right and true Conſtitution of this Government, when they are aſſembled, the Supream* Power *therein, the King in ſuppoſition of Law being ever preſent in his Authoritie, and not to be ſeparated from that great Council of the Kingdom: And for* their Intentions and Reſolutions in all their Proceedings *(I ſpeak of the far major part of them, which ever was, is, and ought to be eſteemed, called and accounted the Parliament, the reſt being involved)* that they were conſtantly to the end, even the laſt Vote the ſame, and no other than what they had ſo often declared to men; and ſolemnly proteſted to God. *But to manifeſt This is a Work, which will require and deſerve a juſt and full Diſcourſe by it ſelf, & were no way fit to be annexed as a part or piece to the Anſwer of ſuch a Pamphlet as this is: and I could wiſh with all my heart, that ſome more able hand would undertake it, both for the honor of the* Engliſh *Nation, and of the Parliament of the Kingdom of* England, *and eſpecially of Religion; all ſuffering not a little at this time throughout Chriſtendom.*

An

An Anſwer to a Diſcourſe, intituled TRUTH IT'S MANIFEST, &c.

IN this time of ſcribling when every man is bold to write and print what he pleaſe, ſome make uſe of this Liberty to get a ſubſiſtence, and vent weekly News to the people for a little profit, wherein, ſometimes with no leſs folly than boldneſs, they will take upon them to write and make their own comments upon ſeveral paſſages, and give their adviſes; Others finding the people taken with theſe Pamphlets, and ſo unhappy as to ſuffer themſelves oftentimes to be tranſported by ſome of them before they have examined the truth of that which is in them, or been ſo well adviſed as to conſider the end that thoſe might have who intended to abuſe them thereby, have of late thought this a better and ſafer way to carry on their deſigns and diſguiſe them, than by ſending another *Cranford* to the Exchange to vent palpable lies there amongſt the multitude, and ſtart another Hare for them to run after; that their eyes might thereby be taken off from that which otherwiſe no Manifeſto, Pamphlet, or Paper-practiſe, though followed with never ſo much induſtry in the Citie, could ſo eaſily have given an eſcape unto; which was *that unhappy and unſeaſonable march of their* Scottiſh *Army backwards into* Weſtmerland, *with the conſequents thereof:* This being reſolved of, out comes a Pamphleter of another Port and Garb than ordinary, a *Zanzummim*, who looks down upon the reſt of his Companions as ſo many Graſhoppers, and with a word of diſdain kicks them all out of his way as a company of mercinary flatterers, or ſplenitive and ſcurilous detractours of mens perſons; For himſelf, if you will take it upon his own word, he comes to ſet before the people (*Truth its manifeſt*) a ſpecious vizard, under which you ſhall finde upon the examination that there is maſked the moſt malicious, falſe and ſeditious libell that yet hath been offered to impone upon the people, either from *Oxford*, or elſe where: ſo confident are they now grown of the peoples patience, credulity, and readineſs to be abuſed by taking things upon truſt from them.

This man makes his entry through the great gate of a long *Epiſtle to the Reader*, that he may make his way with more ſtate than the common Pamphletters, and be received with more credit. *The firſt part of his Epiſtle* is to that end beſtowed in a *large commendation of himſelf*, Firſt for *his perſonal endowments*, Secondly, for *the competencie of his eſtate* giving him ſome advantages, and being ſubſervient to his reſolutions of ſpeaking to the point, as he ſaith: *The qualities of his minde* he ſets forth to be, ſuch a calmneſs and freedom of Spirit, void of am-

bition and covetouſneſs, that no hopes nor fears can work upon him; he can ſpeak to the poinct, and tell truth down-right, his tongue indeed can run through the earth, and he is not afraid to offend the gods, although thereby his hopes be croſſed, and he may be *hindered in his private intereſt*; as he ſaith, it ſeems then the man hath ſome hopes and private intereſt, but ſure they are in *Scotland*, not in *England*, and then in this diſcourſe of his he hath ſecured them ſufficiently. In a word, this man, as he proves it, through his whole diſcourſe is one of thoſe who is not afraid to *ſpeak evil of Dignities*, having filled his mouth with the ſwelling words of vanity and falſhood. Next his eſtate cooperates much to the continuance of theſe virtues, *he hath Fas modicum, a ſufficient Viaticum which he preferreth to the glyſtering ſlavery of ambitious men.* Here you have an ample Teſtimony given of himſelf by himſelf, and certainly there is more than need of all this if any man would believe it the ſooner for his ſaying it, when you ſhall compare his carriages in his diſcourſe following with this profeſſion in his Epiſtle. In *the ſecond part of his Epiſtle* he will give you evidence and demonſtration of *his impartial proceeding*, that you may not reſt upon his bare word alone; and therefore he will begin with *his own Nation*, the *Kingdom* of *Scotland* (for no man that reads him will doubt of his being a *Scot*) the report goeth alſo that he hath been *a School-maſter*, or *a Tutor*, who hath been accuſtomed to have Boys under his Rod; and this is very probable, conſidering how Magiſterially he carrieth himſelf all along, for we know your Pedagogue is ever the onely forward putting man; if you will make uſe of him, you may put him upon any thing, as this man, who having wrapped his head up in his own dream, like that bird, which uſeth to thruſt her head into a buſh, thinks he ſhall never be diſcovered and flushed, and thereupon he goes on to *threaten Kingdoms, reprove Parliaments, counſel the Commiſſioners of another Kingdom to ſtir up the people of this Kingdom to ſedition, and Appeal from the Parliament wherein reſides the Supream power, unto the multitude, he traduceth the Committee of both Kingdoms, caſts the froth and falſhood of his brain upon particular men of both Houſes that are of greateſt fidelity and integrity*, he doth not name them indeed, that he tells you he will forbear, but ſo deſcribes them that he need not ſay there is a Noſe in the middeſt of your face; could you expect all this from any other but your Pedagogue? who in the mean time may fancie himſelf walking with his ferula in his hand up & down in the middeſt of his boys, elevated to the height of a ſupercilious gravity, as his phraſe and manner of ſpeech ſheweth. Yet let us hear what he will ſay of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, it may be he hath exceeded his Commiſſion, and will have no thanks for his labour, though his good intentions were onely to flouriſh there, that the better way might be made for him to give a home-thruſt, where he intended it, againſt the Kingdom of *England*.

He ſaith, *not few, but many, not ſmall ones, but the chief and leaders of the reſt, not through infirmity and weakneſs, but with ſtudy and a high hand, upon malice, had left their integrity and ſincerity to the cauſe of God, and followed the deviſes which pride and covetouſneſs carried them unto, and for their private intereſt fall to plotting and caballing how to ſupplant one another, and increaſe their own factions, ſtill buſying their thoughts to bear down their oppoſites, not ſorry in their hearts at the Enemies ſucceſs, hoping thereby to make advantages for the ſetting up of their own party.* This with much more of the ſame kinde, he ſcatters up and down in the

Map

Map presented to us by him of his own Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the chief leaders therein. What instruction would the man have the simpler sort and well meaning people (to abuse whom is the end of this discourse) gather from all this? would he have them think, and put them in fear, that what he affirmeth to have been the practice of their chief and leading men, and most cried up for their zeal to the good cause in hand in their own kingdom, where they had greatest obligations, and no want of Oaths and Covenants, may fall out to be so in this? we will hope better things, though this mans premises (the proof whereof we leave to himself) look towards such a conclusion, in as good Logick or better than he makes use of all along in this discourse to aspersie others withall. He complains further, *that those, who were employed against the enemies, betrayed their trust, omitted many fair opportunities and good occasions, which in appearance might have made an end of the war, that others complyed with the Enemie and helped him secretly with advice, ill symptoms all in such a time as this is*: But because the man takes upon him to declare, in the name of the Scots, what he pleadeth, as *pag. 60.* and to avow and disavow in their behalf, (by what Commission, and by whom instructed, it were well worth the knowing) we will suppose him also instructed to answer, any demands in their names, which shall be made: he can tell us how it came to pass that such men were imployed, who brake their trust, and such intrusted, who did comply with the enemie for the advancement of their own Factions: Did it arise from hence, that in all their affairs and negotiations, they are an open hearted and plain dealing people in whom there is no guile, no cunning, but measuring others by themselves, they are the less cautious and more apt to be deceived, being not at all suspitious? If this be a right character of them, as he sometimes will have it, we have lighted very unhappily amongst so many plain hearts, upon such a one as he is, and some others of them like himself, who with so much industrie, as the father of lyes can hardly exceed, study and endeavor nothing more by their Pamphlets, Papers, and Emissaries for the carrying on of their designes, than to raise jealousies, and suspitions in the minds of the simpler sort of those persons, and for such things, as it is probable they that raise them, do not themselves believe either the persons guiltie thereof, or the things true. Remember, the hidden things of darkness will one day be brought to light. If you turn to the 118, 119, 120. *pages* of this discourse, there you shall have himself very freely and liberally giving in unto you, *the cause* why such men, by whom he saith they have been betrayed, were intrusted. In these late Troubles, which in humane reason had ended in the ruine both of their Liberties, and that which this man so often calls their Religion, had not their Brethren of *England* refused absolutely to assist or engage against them, though all means were used both in Parliament and out of Parliament, by threats, by promises, by oaths invented to ensnare them and oblige them thereunto, which refusal proved an assistance unto them, enabling them to do their work and cost them nothing, a thing that deserves much better to be remembered than that which this man so often lays in our dish. Yea, when they had done their own work by this means, this Nation was content to pay them their wages in the brotherly assistance so freely given them: all this is written in the Sands, and our ears are filled with nothing but *the Miracles done for us by the* SCOTS, well, yet when we had put this advantage into their hands, of Settling their own Affairs as they would themselves, what Peace did they make? In the Conclusion

to piece up all; this mans Friend, that mans Kinſman, and the Allies of another muſt be ſpared; to facilitate which, Titles of Honor, and Offices of profit muſt be conferred, and when this was done, theſe men muſt be received into their ſocieties, yea, into their Councils and imployments, though they had been found guiltie, and declared Enemies to the State, as this man tells you with regreet, for ſaith he, *what is there that the Scots will not do for their Friends, Kindred, and Allies:* by making up their breaches in this manner, when ſo much had been diſcovered, as that they ſent the Examinations up to the Parliament in this Kingdom; they had gotten a Wolf by the ears; if the men connived at wear not alſo confided in, but laid aſide, they would become Enemies again: if truſted and imployed, they had opportunitie put into their hands, to ſtrengthen their partie, and increaſe their Faction, that which the School-maſter ſaith (and is much ſcandalized at it) *they altogether ſtudied and aimed at, plotting, cabballing, and deviſing how to ſupplant one another to that end*: theſe are his own words, and it ſhould ſeem by him ſomething is effected in regard of their Factions. The tables are turned, the High men before are now become Low men. Let the Honeſt men therefore amongſt them look to themſelves, and keep to their old friends, notwithſtanding the leſſons this School-maſter would teach them. The man takes this occaſion to make oſtentation of his Impartiallitie, *Tros Tyriuſque mihi, nullo diſcrimine agetur*; be he a *Scot*, or be he an *Engliſh* man, all is one, he ſhall have his leſſon taught him, and ſo he begins to read ſome lectures fit for boys to hear, and the ſimpler ſort to be coſened withall, every wiſe man ſeeth what is aymed at, he would gain ſome credit hereby to be the ſooner believed in thoſe Scandals he deſires to fix upon honeſter men than himſelf, to take credit from them, that they may not keep his well meaning people from being abuſed by him and thoſe of his Council, which is the main end and drift of this Pamphlet. But lay aſide your Stage-Play, your grave documents to thoſe of your own Nation, and let them take out this one leſſon from their own experience and learn it well, that will be to ſome purpoſe, all this is but hiſtrionicall, and you do but *perſonam agere* in it: Let them take heed in reſpect to themſelves, as well as of us, that they do not byas us into a Peace which ſhall not be ſafe and well grounded. Theſe are good words and often uſed, let nothing be practiſed which conſiſts not with them, let them not be made uſe of to bring about other mens ends (which it may be they ſee not into the depth of) hoping to make uſe of ſuch men again to effect their own, leſt God who will curſs the one, do alſo juſtly croſs the other. Let them not endeavour to make their advantages of our fooliſh diviſions amongſt our ſelves, leſt in the iſſue they finde themſelves thereby divided from the true cauſe and end, which they ſhould onely promote and aym at in their Coming into this Kingdom, at which God being diſpleaſed, can eaſily lay open all to the world, and as eaſily cruſh them in the cloſing of thoſe diviſions, which they would needs thruſt themſelves between to hold up, and continue for their own ends. There needs none of theſe carnal and fleſhly deviſes (for ſuch are all Diviſions and Contentions made uſe of) to carry on a good cauſe: neither doth he like to be helped by mens ſinful deviſes, but rather delight to catch the craftie, and intangle them in their own wiles.

Being thus fallen upon this ſubject of Peace, the preſent practices on foot will require a little digreſſion in diſcourſing of it, which I ſhall the rather take libertie to do, becauſe it is the continual practiſe of this Pamphleter and others of his com-

complices, who have his aims and ends, to buz into the peoples ears, That there are ſome who would have no peace but keep them always in war for their own ends and intereſt, the falſhood whereof I will ſtay a little upon the diſcovering in this place, that I may not be put to further trouble about it, and may prevent the miſchief intended by the often inculcating of theſe lies. In the firſt place let this be conſidered by thoſe who are apt to hearken to theſe falſe ſuggeſtions, that there is not a greater mark of a ſeditious incendiary than this, to go about to poſſeſs the people with an opinion that the Parliament would not moſt gladly put an end to their troubles by a peace ſafe for them, and their poſterity, if by any means it may be obtained; For this is to alienate the hearts of the people from the Parliament; that which is anſwered in this caſe, and accordingly made uſe of by this man, that *they ſpeak not of the Parliament, but of ſome ſwaying parties in the houſes of Parliament*, was *Oxford* language long ago, when they called the Parliament Traitours, they ſaid they meant it of a ſwaying party, or faction in both houſes: I wiſh theſe who now take up their language, do not drive on their deſigns, and become the Heyſers amongſt us, with whom they at *Oxford* plow. But for the thing it ſelf there is not a wiſe, nor an honeſt man in either houſe that doth not deſire, indeavour and pray for a ſafe and well grounded peace. Thoſe men that are ſuch do indeed take care that the Parliament be not cheated, or forced into a peace which is neither ſafe, well grounded, nor likely therefore to continue; but onely carried on, and accommodated to the ends and advantages of particular men who affect to be eſteemed the contrivers thereof, and to enjoy the rewards of making it ſuch as may be acceptable at *Oxford*: This, honeſt men watch to prevent according to the truſt the people have repoſed in them, and this is it for which they ſuffer all theſe ſlanders, calumnies, and falſe accuſations, this ſubjects them to all the envy they ly under; and we hope God in his time will ſo diſabuſe and open the eyes of the people that they ſhall clearly ſee it. A demonſtration of this, ſufficient to convince any that is not wilfully blinde, is that courſe the Parliament hath now taken to ſelect and chuſe out of the reſt of the propoſitions thoſe onely which are abſolutely neceſſary for the preſent ſettlement, and future ſecurity of the Kingdom, which if the King ſhall paſs in Bils ſent unto him, the War is at end, he may come up to his Parliament and ſettle all other things in a Parliamentary way afterwards, Arms being laid down, and the Kingdom in peace: But if the King ſhall refuſe to do this untill he firſt come to *Weſtminſter*; or if others ſhall refuſe to conſent to the ſettlement of a peace upon theſe Propoſitions, though they onely concern the ſafety of this Kingdom, and be by both Houſes (whoſe the judgement is) judged neceſſary thereunto, except they may intereſt themſelves in our Government, when they in the mean time require that we ſhould demand of the King for them, not onely what ever their Parliament, or Convention of Eſtates have agreed upon for their ſafety, but that he grant all ſuch further acts as they ſhall agree upon hereafter; If this ſhall fall out, let all the World judge between us, whether there be true meaning, or no, and whether it be not rather likely that there lieth ſome pad hid in the ſtraw which we ſee not. This is a diſcovering time, God hath made great diſcoveries of late, and if men would be ſo wiſe as not to be precipitated and hurried on blind-fold into ſnares and pits which they will not through prejudice ſuffer other men to keep them from falling into, they would, before it be too late (ſuſpending their judgements but for a little time)

ſee the danger they are in, and be contented that wiſe men, who foreſee it ſhould deliver them out of it. To conclude this point, that I may not return to it, and as I ſaid, trouble my ſelf again with it upon every occaſion given, God doth know we would be glad of a ſafe peace, we would have the King come to the Parliament; but we would firſt provide he might ſo come, as that he might not be capable by making diviſions and factions amongſt us, and by being tempted and miſled as formerly by ambitious men (whereof we have here too many) to caſt himſelf and the Kingdom again into the ſame, or worſe troubles. And yet we would have the World to know this alſo, that there be ſome things which have been whiſpered up and down (it may be this man hath met with them in ſome of his Cabals) that we will not have to make our peace; *The one is, to ſet up the Son, and depoſe the Father*; we will none of this expedient: Every wiſe man foreſeeth what the iſſue of this muſt needs prove; Either the Son will imbrace it with a real intention to carry it on for himſelf, and then the war is continued, or the Father muſt run *Edward* the ſeconds fortune to put an end to it: or elſe he will diſſemble his intentions in accepting the Crown, and hereby inable himſelf to effect his Fathers deſigns by their means, who have oppoſed them, and in their ruine. We love him too well and the Crown, to ſubject either to parricidian guilt; we know what the ſucceſs of it hath been, *Non gaudet tertius hæres*; and we love our ſelves and the Kingdom too well to dig a pit with our own hands to bury our ſelves and our poſterity in for perpetual ſlaves. There is *another* we like as ill as this, and that is *a totall alteration of the Government from a mixed Monarchy, duely bounded as this is, into ſomething elſe*, they that fancie it and talk of it know not what themſelves; any thing ſo there be a change, though from the beſt to the worſt of all: we will none of this expedient neither, the fire is as bad and worſe than the frying pan, as we ſay: as we hate Tyranny in one, ſo we do factions in a few equals, and as much, or more confuſion in the many headed multitude. We reſolve therefore to keep the three eſtates co-ordinate equally to poyſe and ballance each other; and by a due interpoſition to be a juſt boundary and limit one to the other to prevent extreams. We need not, we will not, to gain a peace, be without a King, no not without this King: Onely he himſelf hath brought this neceſſity upon us, not to truſt him with that power whereby he may do us and himſelf hurt; but with ſo much alone as ſhall be ſufficient to inable him to do us good: A morall man as he is ſubject to failings, and conſidering with himſelf what he hath already done, might cheerfully, yea, thankfully cloſe with his people upon theſe terms. *A third* is that which we ſcorn to have obtruded upon us, and I believe there is not any *Engliſh* heart amongſt us but riſeth againſt it, where ambition, envy, or ſome other faſcination from the Prieſts doth not byas and ſquint the mindes of men, and it is this, *That if the government according to the pattern in the* North *may be ſet up and eſtabliſhed amongſt us for the Church; for our ancient* Engliſh *Government of the Kingdom ſetled by mutual diſputations and Oaths*; For our Judicatories fundamental *to this government, for our Laws and Liberties in and by them preſerved, we ſhall be eaſie to ſhift for our ſelves.* This is the price the King muſt pay for a peace, and if this be yielded, other things ſhall be accommodated to his content, his prerogative and the maintaining thereof ſhall be made a matter of conſcience, and much tenderneſs pretended of touching upon the Kings power, for fear of Oaths and Proteſta-

reſtations. To meet with theſe things from Enemies is no more than we had cauſe to expect, but contrary to our expectations we have met with them alſo where we did little look for them: indeed this Agent for the *Scots*, throughout his whole Pamphlet, would make us believe, our Brethren came in for no other end; this was their Errant, the onely *Diana*, great amongſt them, this is the Cauſe of God, of the Church, and State, with ſuch like ſtuff. But we expect that they themſelves ſhould make another interpretation of our taking up Arms, which was our juſt defence in the things before ſpecified, both in reſpect to our ſelves and our poſteritie; and to aſſiſt us therein, it was that we called them into the Kingdom for; their ſecuritie in the ſame particular, depending upon their defending us in the Vindication of our juſt Rights, the cauſe being one & the ſame, and the quarrel about it as it began with them, ſo would it certainly end in their ruin, if they ſhould ſuffer us to periſh firſt: this is their advantage, they determin and preſerve their own Right at our Charge, and ſave their own houſe from being ſet on fire, by quenching the fire that burns their neighbours. Some paſſages at the late debates in the Conference about the propoſitions to be ſent to the King at the Iſle of *Wight*, have been ſo ſtrange and unexpected to us to come from the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, that they have called to remembrance things, before either ſlighted, or ſuſpended in mens minds, and have raiſed new jealouſies, theſe argumentations of theirs being compared with ſome former actions, and late informations and diſcoveries. Yet we will hope the beſt, and deſerve no other, but confidently affirm this as the ſence of every Engliſh heart, that we will not beſtow ſuch vaſt ſums of money, and endure thoſe preſſures, which their Free-quarter and Plundering hath occaſioned in many parts of this Kingdom, to obtain an aſſiſtance from our Brethren of *Scotland*, which ſhall onely end in this, that inſtead of one ſlavery, wherein they would leave us as before, we ſhall by their means, be caſt under another as bad or worſe; That of the Prince, this of the Prieſt; and ſo purchaſe to our ſelves at ſo dear a rate this preferment, to become two-fold more the children of ſlaverie than before, by being made their Proſelites. We know very well who they are that compaſs Sea and Land to make theſe Proſelites, what pains they take both in Preſs and Pulpit, where they collegiate themſelves, hold their Cabals, lay their Deſigns, and iſſue out the reſults of their Conſultations, and how they deceive men other ways well affected, and make them their conduits, to convey through the whole Citie, this imbittering water, whereby they leaven and ſour the ſpirits of men againſt thoſe, to whom they ought to be moſt ſweet and indeared; the end and aym of this myſterie is not discovered by many an honeſt man who acts in it, and truly that is to be lamented, and it doth ſad the ſpirits of godly men, that even thoſe of the Miniſterie whom we believe not onely to profeſs pietie, but to be truly godly, and whom we have and do ſtill eſteem and reverence as ſuch, yet theſe ſuffer themſelves, with *Barnabas*, to be led into the ſame diſſimulation, not having *Peter* for their companion therein, which would not excuſe them, but men of a far differing ſpirit, ſuch, who if they may attain to their ends, regard not whether the means they uſe be ſuch as becometh the Miniſters of the Goſpel: how ill doth it become them who are the Meſſengers of Peace to be the occaſions of dangerous diviſions, how far diſtant from that ſimplicitie, which the Goſpel requires in teaching, is this practiſing with the people to ſow in them the ſeeds of Sedition by Sermons and written Diſcourſes, to the diſparagement of the Parliament,

whereby

whereby the people are inflamed and imbittered againſt the higheſt Powers to whom they ought to be taught by the Miniſters all ſubjection? and what can in probabilitie be the end of this, but that they may be incited in a tumultuous way, to extort frō the Supream Power what theſe men would have, or at the beſt be rendered disaffected to them whom they ought to honor & obey? ſhould not godly Miniſters rather ſuffer wrong, if it were ſo, than joyn with others to ſpeak evil of Dignities? what man like *Job*, as it is well ſaid by *Elihu*, would make himſelf a companion with thoſe who blaſpheme them that are called Gods, and fill his mouth with the North-blaſting wind? God will certainly abaſe thoſe that are his for theſe practiſes; how much better had it been to proceed ſo far as the Magiſtrate could be convinced, and wait for what you think remaineth untill God ſhall reveal it? Certainly godlineſs had thereby been much more promoted, and the Goſpel in your Miniſtry would have had a freer paſſage and better acceptance in the mindes of men, than which nothing, not life it ſelf ſhould be dearer to you: it may be you will not believe it, but it is too true that while you ſeem to men, to preach to get power into your hands, the power of your Miniſtry is ſo weakned & withered in the conſciences of men, in reſpect of what it hath formerly been, that if you deſiſt not from this reaching after an unlimited Power, and making the world believe you have turned your Zeal for Religion into a Conteſtation for the advancement of the Clergies power, as in the time of Poperie, and now amongſt them, under the name of the Church, all Religion was made but a Stalking-horſe to the ambition of Clergie men; you will ſpeedily conteſt your ſelves out of the conſciences of good men, and the power of godlineſs out of this Kingdom. Men alreadie begin to ſay, Where ſhall we go to hear Chriſt preached? others, who care not much whether they go to a Sermon or not, ſay they had rather ſtay at home than go to hear the Parliament railed upon. What I have here ſpoken of theſe of the Miniſterie, is no way ſpoken with any deſire to disgrace Miniſters, but with a ſad heart in reſpect of thoſe of them whom I believe to be godly, deſiring from my ſoul, that they would conſider it and lay it to heart, and not involve themſelves in the guilt of other mens ambition, to the prejudice of their own Miniſteries, and to the caſting of ſtumbling-blocks and offences in the way of Gods people. This digreſſion may be of uſe at this time, and therefore born withall, ſince it is applyed to take away from this Incendiarie, the chief engine by which he works upon his ſimpler ſort, and well-meaning people, indeavouring to poyſon their affections, and incenſe them againſt the Parliament, by infuſing an opinion into them, that they intend no Peace, but an alteration of the Government, thereby to disjoyn them from the Parliament, and ſo prepare them for a conjunction which may put coercion upon the ſame; and certainly to this end, if not in the intentions of the Agents, yet in the effect of the work done, concur the practiſes of thoſe men, whoſe eyes hereby I would be glad I could open, that they might timely ſee what they are doing and invited unto, though it may be many of them go as thoſe whom *Abſolon* invited in the ſimplicitie of their hearts: But to prevent this miſchief, and to ſtop the projects and practiſes of thoſe men, who in their meetings, whiſper up and down, and make overtures privately of ſuch things as theſe whereof I have ſpoken to gain a Peace by, I have here clearly and truly expreſſed what the two Houſes of Parliament have in their intentions, as to that which concerneth the Peace of the Kingdom, which by their many Declarations and conſtant Proceed-

ings

ings ſuitable thereunto they have made manifeſt to all men.

But to proceed with this Pamphleter; after the man hath plaid his part to gain the credit of much zeal for the *Church*, as he calls it, and that without all partiality, He falls upon the Kingdom of *England*, and makes his entry thus: *If judgement begin at the houſe of God* (that is, *Scotland* whereof he had ſpoken) *then let England look to it*, that is, where ſhall the wicked and ungodly appear? I like not to enter into compariſons, but ſince the man will needs begin, and make themſelves *Bethel*, and us *Beth-aven*; I will appeal to the conſcience of every obſerving judicious man that hath lived any time in both theſe Kingdoms, and converſed with men of all ranks and profeſſions both in the one and the other, whether there be not an hundred in this Kingdom, for one in your *Bethel*, that holds forth the power of Godlineſs in a holy life and unblameable converſation, without Hypocriſie, coſenage, and deceiveable unrighteouſneſs, notwithſtanding your *Government* and *Stool of repentance*, a deviſe of as much ſpiritual uſe as our old white ſheet? ſo undoubted a truth was that lately preached before the Houſe of Commons by Mr. *Strong*, now one of the Aſſembly; this might have ſhut the door upon him, and whether he hath been taught his leſſon better ſince his admiſſion, he beſt knows? but certainly that was a truth, which all experience of former and later times in all places beareth witneſs unto. *The ſins of Scotland*, he ſaith, *are raigning in* England, *but beſides that, there are many more which have not been ſeen in* Scotland; and of theſe many, when he comes to his inſtances, he names but onely two, which are two notorious ſlanders, laid upon the Government to no other end, but to bely ſome particular men in Authority: *Hereſies, Errours, and Sects of all ſorts*, he ſaith *are countenanced by ſome of thoſe who are in Authority*: black mouthed man, inſtance in one that is countenanced, and by whom, *Doloſus verſatur in generalibus*, a Jugler keeps himſelf in generals: But this mans Hereſies, Errours, and Sects, what are they? Not to conform exactly to the pattern in the North, as you may ſee by his ſecond inſtance, which is all he hath to make us in compariſon of *Scotland*, his houſe of God, to be *Beth-aven*, the wicked and ungodly; *There be ſome of power and credit*, he ſaith, *who are ſo far from furthering the Reformation of the Church, as they hinder it, not by undermining plots alone, but by open profeſſion againſt it*; wherein conſiſts his Reformation which the man in all this Pamphlet of his ſo much cries out to be oppoſed? Onely in the alteration of the Government by Biſhops, into the Diſcipline ſet up in the Church of *Scotland*, and then no doubt all are inſtantly Saints: and this he would make the World believe, we are bound to by the Covenant, whereas there is no ſuch thing, but *Scotland* is as much bound to conform to us by the Covenant, as we to them, if we come nearer to the word of God, then they, in our Reformation. But who, I pray, are thoſe in power and credit, That thus oppoſe your Reformation of Religion? You will very readily anſwer, that they are the men whom you put the name of *Independents* upon in both Houſes; for now every one is an *Independent* who refuſeth the Altar you would bring in according to the pattern which you have ſeen, though it ſhould fall out, and upon examination be found, that the Braſen and true Altar ſhould be laid aſide for it.

We ſee the deſign you and thoſe who ſet you on work, and that concur with you, drive on? you would coſen and deceive the ſimpler ſort, and well meaning people as you term them, by way of inſinuation and flattery as you would have it

received, but with ſcorn and contempt enough, as they may well underſtand it, when you would put out their eyes, and then become their guides, perſwade them by lies and ſlanders to entertain an ill opinion of thoſe men, who are moſt able to ſerve them, moſt faithfull to them, and moſt watchfull over them, to prevent their being inſnared, and inſlaved both ſpiritually, and civily, and which is worſt of all, irrecoverably at their own inſtance, and by their own means, before they ſee what it is they are about to do; your way herein with theſe well meaning people, is the ſame deſcribed by the Oratour, to perſwade the ſilly ſheep to fall out with, and baniſh all the dogs that watch the flock, and then they ſhall have Peace; theſe be thoſe that hinder their peace and good agreement with the Wolves; ſtop their mouths, hearken no longer to them, and all ſhall be well: you would have men ſo ſimple, as to take it upon truſt from you, and ſuch emiſſaries as are ſent about with your Pedlars pack and deceitfull wares, that theſe men oppoſe Reformation, and the ſetling of any Government in the Church, becauſe they deſire all Hereſies, Errours and Sects may be tolerated: And that they oppoſe the Propoſitions for peace, and keep the Kingdom in War, becauſe they intend the alteration of the Government for their own intereſts and advancement; Whereas the truth is (and no conſcientious man in either Houſe can deny it) that theſe are the men in both Houſes, by whoſe care and endeavour the Ordinances for Church-Government have been prepared, and the paſſing of them preſſed on untill they were finiſhed and paſſed, when by others they were let to lie ſtill, and ſtick in the birth, whether purpoſely to raiſe a clamour, and hereby inforce the Parliament to yield what ſome are reaching after, let their conſciences anſwer, which being brought into the ſight of God, will finde ſuch a practiſe, neither acceptable to him nor juſtifiable before men. They will not have their conſciences preſſed to act according to what is ſetled, except the ſettlement be ſuch as they like of: and will they, who pretend conſcience herein, preſs upon the Magiſtrate to act againſt conſcience, againſt the truſt repoſed in them, to maintain the Subjects Liberty from being incroached upon under any pretence whatſoever, before light received ſufficient to convince them of a ſuperiour Authority and Divine right calling for the ſame, and appointing it? and this to be effected in a ſeditious and tumultuous manner by the ſeduced and inflamed multitude; will this be eſteemed a practiſe fit for conſcientious men?

For the Propoſitions for peace, who were thoſe that laboured in compoſing of them, that laboured moſt for the paſſing of them that they might be ſpeedily ſent, that moved and obtained that ſome few, ſuch onely as were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſettling of a peace that might be ſafe for the Subject and well grounded, ſhould be firſt ſent away, that if the King would paſs them by Commiſſion ſent unto him, whereby it might appear he came up with clear and fair intentions to agree with his Parliament, in that which was neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Subjects juſt Right and Liberties, and the good of the Kingdom; theſe Bills being paſſed he might come and ſettle other things in a Parliamentary way, the Kingdom in the mean time enjoying peace, and Forces diſbanded: was not all this promoted, preſſed on, and to their uttermoſt power indeavoured by thoſe very men, whom this incendiary all along ſeeks to raiſe jealouſies of, and ſlandereth with having contrary intentions for their own ends? No man, but he that makes no conſcience of ſpeaking untruths for to advance his plots, will

will denie it. Indeed where there are ſecret plots and deſigns carried under ground, cloaked with pretences of Religion, and Zeal for Reformation, theſe fair Names and ſpecious Titles being made Stalking-horſes for the ends of thoſe men, who to obtain their deſigns, muſt coſen honeſter men than themſelves; there we have no hope to convince or ſatisfie ſuch Contrivers; for they ſeek their ends aymed at, not ſatisfaction to their reaſons, whereof thoſe reaſons that are patent they are not led by, they uſe them but as Varniſh, the latent reaſons, which will not abide the light, thoſe onely ſway them; and therefore the moſt evincing arguments are caſt away, and it were but labor ſpent in vain to uſe any, were it not to disabuſe thoſe, who are ſtrangers to theſe Myſteries of iniquitie, and yet ſo deluded by theſe Jugglers, as to be made to play other mens games to their own utter undoing, when they ſhall have made them winners. For their ſakes therefore, and to prevent that miſchief which may ariſe to the Publick, by mens being ſtill carried on in miſtaking both of things and perſons, I cannot forbear, but muſt again take a little more libertie to inſiſt upon theſe two heads of *Church Government*, and *Peace*; the ſpecious pretences which the ſame men, who were formerly obſerved moſt to oppoſe, now find it neceſſarie to ſeem very zealous for, that thereby they may take the people and make uſe of them to gain and compaſs their own deſigns by their help, which the people, blinded with theſe fair vizards, are not able to diſcern: But what the deſigns of ſuch men, who thus abuſe them, are like to prove, there have been of late ſtrange Diſcoveries made, yet who ſo blind as thoſe that will not ſee?

The conſtant endeavours of honeſt men (whom it concerns theſe juggling Contrivers, for the better attaining of their ends, to blaſt and blemiſh in the opinion of the people) hath been obſerved of late, to be ſo evident and apparent in promoting both theſe in the Houſes, that being not able to denie it, they now begin to accuſe them, that they do it out of deſign; promoting the Settlement of Church Government, but ſuch as they knew could not be yielded unto, that ſo there might be none exerciſed, but all hereſies and errors ſtill maintained; the Propoſitions for Peace agreed upon, ſuch alſo as cannot be admitted by our Brethren of *Scotland*, and ſo our Troubles continued. What will not envie, malice and ſpight, pricked on by ambition, when it either is, or fears to be croſſed, ſay and do? Let us examin the reaſons why the Church Government, ſettled by Ordinance, cannot be yielded unto, nor the Propoſitions for Peace conſented unto by our Brethren of *Scotland*. For the firſt it is alleadged, The Miniſters will be enforced to admit ſuch unto the Sacrament, who are ſcandalous, and ſo ſin againſt their conſciences; and herein they are left without remedie, the remedie provided by the Ordinance, being Commiſſioners, is as much againſt their conſciences to ſubmit unto as the other. Both Houſes of Parliament have Declared, that ignorant & ſcandalous perſons ſhall be kept from the Sacrament, the queſtion is, Who are theſe Ignorant and Scandalous perſons that ſhall be excluded Communion, and by whom they ſhall be judged to be ſuch? the Miniſters will have it to be by themſelves Arbitrarily without limitation, without appeal to the civil Magiſtrate at all in any cauſe, otherways their conſciences cannot be ſatisfied: The Parliament wils them to enumerate ſins which they eſteem to be ſcandalous, that they may thereby judge how that Power will be exerciſed, which the Miniſters will have them force the ſubjects under, & that they may provide againſt giving into the Miniſters hands by a Law, ſuch an Arbitrarie

ad unlimitted Power, as to exclude men from the Sacrament, for whatsoever they will call Scandalous; for not paying their Tithes it may be, as they think fit, and call for; for not making their bargains as they please, nor letting their Lands to their Tenants as the Ministers think reasonable, for this they will call, the one Sacralege, the other Oppression, and therefore both Scandalous; if a man obtain a Decree in a Court of Justice, he must not have the execution thereof, if they shall judge it hard and unjust; this hath been practised in *Scotland*, where they have obtained this unlimited Independent Power into their hands, as one of their own Countrey-men writes. Now against this abuse and pressure upon the subjects by an Arbitrarie and unlimited Power, the Parliament had reason according to the trust reposed in them, to provide; yet they still offered to consider of any other sins that may be thought scandalous, if the Ministers would present them, and add those to such as were enumerated, if they should be made appear to be of that nature: and further, because it was pretended, there might fall out to be emergencies so circumstantiated as might make sins scandalous, which could not be foreseen, and in such cases Ministers would be put to act against conscience, untill the case might be brought to the Parliament, and there adjudged (for they would not directly seem to decline the judgement of Parliament) the Parliament appointed Commissioners, who upon all occasions of emergencie might be readie to judge of them, and be at hand to State them rightly, and convey them to the Parliament as the case should require; that so the subject might not be left without all remedie, and the Ministers be made their own sole Judges over them in all sins, nay in all things, for by the old hook of the Clergie, *in Ordine ad Spiritualia*, they would draw all under their net, this expedient was found out in their behalf, and for the more speedie dispatch of business; otherways they might, if they would, have put the Ordinance in execution before, when the Appeal lay onely to the Parliament: But this expedient could not in conscience be admitted, and the Pulpit and Press were both full of strange language and expressions against it, when every wise man and indifferent, saw clearly, that this had no one reason which lay against it, that did not every whit as much lie against the Parliament it self being judge, or determining in these cases, onely the Parliament might be preached against and spoken against through the sides of these Commissioners with less danger and offence, than in direct terms. But wherein were these Comissioners an offence to conscience? in that it would make the Reformation to be, not according to the Word of God, nor according to the practise of other reformed Churches, especially that of *Scotland*, and so be against the Covenant which we have taken: where shall we find a Classis in the Word of God, where Triers, where a Provincial Synod, or a National Assemblie with Coercion in either, or Subordination of other Churches to the Coercive power of any such? The two later were, when ever they were called, for advice and counsel onely: where doth the Word of God shew any foot-step of such an infallibilitie placed any where since the Apostles times, as that thereupon a Coercive power was left in any, or might by them be exercised over particular Churches? you must step a step higher upon this Ladder of your own framing, and so do some of your Ministers in their writings, and that is to an Oecumenicall Council, whereunto add your Coercion, and you will in Ecclesiastical matters bring in Forreign Power, and so fairly fall into Treason, which will prepare another Ladder for such pragmaticks.

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For that of Commissioners in other reformed Churches, that there are none such, the people are meerly abused therein; for there is not any Church where the people are compelled under this Power of the Ministers, but there is either Commissioners, or that which is equivalent thereunto, unto whom there may be appeals, that the Subjects be not left without remedie under the tyrannie of the Clergie, a thing which this Nation, in the greatest height of Papal power, would never endure. In the Church of *Scotland* it self, there are Commissioners by name, who sit in the Supreamest Courts of their Ecclesiasticall Judicatories, their General Assemblies; one for the King with other Assessors, & some for the Burrough of *Eden-borough*, and others for the Universities; who sit and Vote even in matters of Excommunication, *quatenus* Commissioners. In the *Palatinate* the Appeal is to the Prince his Privie Council: In *France* and the *Low-Countreys* no man is compelled under the power of the Presbyterie by the Magistrate, they exercise it over those alone, who willingly submit themselves thereunto: these men who reach after this Power here, should have asked no more of the Magistrate, and much good might it have done them, and they done with it. In *Geneva*, the Syndicks of that Town would not suffer this unlimited Arbitrarie Power to be exercised over the people without Appeal, notwithstanding all that *Calvin* could do at first, neither could he when it was referred, obtain with all his earnest solicitation, the adjoyning Churches, and Magistrates of the Protestant Cantons, to determin for him in that case, that it was *Jure divino*, but onely that it came near unto the Word of God; and yet in his Epistles it appears how much he labored to have had it so determined by them. The States of the *Low-Countreys* would never endure it. The Clergie being sick in all times of this humor, have made assayes everywhere but could never prevail, much less here in *England*, when the blindness and tyrannie of Poperie was at the highest, as I have said; and this will appear by divers Laws made in those times; what they may effect in this time I know not. Commissioners we see then is no such stranger to other Reformed Churches, as that mens Consciences, by reason of the Covenant should be troubled at it, or the Pulpit crie out of it as a *Monstrum horrendum*: No, this is done but, by abusing, to stir up the people. For the Word of God, it is certainly conform thereunto, that the Magistrate should provide, The people be no way oppressed by any Power which is called for from them, but that if they be required to subject the people under any power, they likewise judge whether that power be exercised over them without oppression; otherwise they do not bear the Sword for their good, which is their office from God. The Ministers confess, that in the case of male-administration, the Magistrate may judge, and that must be not onely for the manner but the matter also, for otherwise a man may be Excommunicated, as the use was in the Bishops times, for a Groat, or a Pig, or an Apple not paid; and the proceedings for the manner being every way regular and orderly, the Magistrate can give no relief, though this be an administration of such a censure bad enough. Well then, if the Magistrate may judge of Excommunication, when it is ill administered, to reprove and punish it being done, is it not strange it should be held so great a transgression against the Word, for him to judge of it before it be done, that, being evil and punishable if it should be done, it might thereby rather be prevented, and not done at all. The truth is, respect to the Covenant need not to have made any mans conscience to have stumbled or been offended at Commis-

ſioners, and that is apparent enough to every wiſe man; for had that offended conſcience, the changing of Commiſſioners into a Committee of Parliament men, which *mutato nomine*, is the ſame thing, would never have ſatisfied conſcience: all that is gained hereby is no more but this, The Miniſters have had their wills of the Parliament, and truly I fear that gain will add little to their comfort, when they ſhall reflect upon what is gained, and by what means they have gained it, what effects it hath alreadie had, and in the precedent may have hereafter; when a Parliament muſt alter a Law before any obedience yielded unto it, or inconvenience found by it, to ſatisfie thoſe, who inſtead of yielding obedience thereunto, oppoſe their judgements to the judgement of Parliament in the moſt Sovereign power thereof, which is the Legiſlative, a precedent never before practiſed, but of the firſt edition, and may it be the laſt.

By this which hath been ſaid, let the indifferent Reader judge of all theſe bawlings, which he ſo often meets withall in this Pamphlet, againſt thoſe men which this incendiary will make to be oppoſers of the Church and the Reformation of Religion. Now to that of *Peace*, that the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* ſhould not be ſatisfied with the Propoſitions, which this Kingdom judgeth ſafe for them to ſettle Peace upon, we know no cauſe at all: for we are neither to have their conſent nor adviſe in framing and making the conditions and terms, upon which this Kingdom is to be ſettled in Peace; the League and Treatie between the two Kingdoms doth not intereſt the one at all in the Government of the other; or in a capacity and power to judge and determine of the juſt Rights and Liberties belonging to the ſame, whether yielded to them, or denied them. For thoſe therefore who came into this Kingdom to help us to defend that which of Right belongs unto us, inſtead of giving aſſiſtance, to take upon them to become Arbitrators and Judges, what they think fit for us to demand, or the King to yield, whereupon a ſafe peace may be made conſiſting with the Government of this Kingdom, and the ſecurity thereof according to the right conſtitution of it, will appear to all underſtanding men ſo ſtrange a ſuperſtruction raiſed upon the Treaty between us and them, that it hath neither foundation therein, nor in reaſon, or juſtice: and this both Houſes of Parliament have reſolved in their anſwer to the *Scots* Papers of the 16. of *March*, and 6. of *April* 1646. concerning the Propoſitions to be ſent to the King, which Anſwer I will here inſert.

Die Veneris, 10. Aprilis, 1646.

THe Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, having taken into conſideration your Paper of the 6. of April, *concerning the Propoſitions to be ſent to the King, do return this anſwer, That we having communicated to you ſome of thoſe Propoſitions which we deſired for the preſent ſhould be ſent unto his Majeſty for a ſafe and well grounded peace, and judging upon peruſal of your Paper of the* 16. *of* March, *your Lordſhips have not conſented that thoſe ſhould be ſent that are deſired by us for the good and ſecurity of the Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland, *with your reaſons for the ſame.*

After ſerious conſideration thereof, we thought fit to adhere to our firſt reſolutions, and again to deſire your concurrence for the ſending them unto the King, and although

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we clearly ſatisfied our own judgements therein, yet out of our earneſt deſires to carry on all buſineſſes in a brotherly way, we did appoint our Committees to communicate thoſe our Reſolutions to ſhew the grounds thereof, and to remove any doubts that might ſtick therein with your Lordſhips: all which being conſidered, and that we have never denied our conſent that ſuch Propoſitions ſhould be preſented to the King, as your Lordſhips conceived to be for the good and ſecuritie of the Kingdom of Scotland; *The matter in your Paper of the 6. of* April *we did not expect, wherein you do deſire, That the reſolutions of both Houſes (after ſo long and mature deliberation) ſhould be ſubjected to the debates and alterations of a Committee of both Houſes, to be joyned with you for that purpoſe; And that upon grounds which we can by no means admit of, in regard that by the Treaty, both Kingdoms are not bound to a joint adviſe and judgement in framing the Propoſitions as is affirmed in your Paper; But that no ceſſation nor any pacification, or agreement for Peace whatſoever is to be made by either Kingdom, or the Army of either Kingdom, without the mutual conſent of both Kingdoms, which is all in this particular they are obliged to by the Treaty. And therefore out of our earneſt deſires to make uſe of the preſent opportunitie for ſetling the peace of the Kingdoms, and that we may clear our ſelves before God and the World, that we have neglected no means that may procure the ſame, eſpecially ſince, as your Lordſhips well remember, we have ſo often declared to the King, that they are ſpeedily to be ſent, and the granting of them will be an effectual means to give ſatisfaction to both Kingdoms; we do again deſire your conſent that thoſe Propoſitions, as we have ſent them to your Lordſhips, may be ſent to his Majeſtie: and we ſhall ſpeedily communicate to your Lordſhips the two other Propoſitions, concerning Delinquents, and the Citie of* London, *that they may be ſent with the others.*

We hear what the judgement of both Houſes is, and how earneſt their deſires were for ſpeeding away the Propoſitions, that ſuch a *Peace* might be obtained as would be ſafe for the Kingdom; will our brethren, or their Commiſſioners ſay to us, Though you have fully ſatisfied your own judgements in that which concerneth your own Kingdom, for the ſetlement and peace thereof, wherein we are not to be judges, and that you are ready alſo to inſiſt upon any Propoſitions, which we ſhall judge neceſſary for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, wherein you pretend not to intermeddle, or have ought to do; yet we will not agree you ſhall conclude a peace, though theſe things may be accorded and granted both to you and us: we would not willingly believe this of thoſe, who we deſire to hope, and that we may finde cauſe to believe, came into this Kingdom with faire intentions; for this would be capable of no other conſtruction in the minds of all men, but that they intended we ſhould ſtill keep their Army in the Kingdom at our charge, and they keep our Towns in their hands, though there were no cauſe to be alleadged for the ſame, that any indifferent man could reſt ſatisfied withall: for though the Treaty between the two Kingdoms do require, that the one ſhall not conclude a Peace alone, and leave the other to ſhift for it ſelf (a uſual clauſe in Treaties where two States ingage in a War to defend and maintain their juſt Rights reſpectively, againſt thoſe who invade them both therein) yet doth it no way, as I have ſaid, intereſt either Kingdom in the matter of the Propoſitions of the other whereupon peace is to be made, but that as they are the proper and onely Judges of what is neceſſary for the ſafety and good Government of either Kingdom, who are of that Kingdom, and to that end aſſembled in Parliament; ſo if experience in future times ſhall make it appear, that what is now deſired

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and resolved upon for either of the Kingdoms respecting themselves, prove not to be for the safety and good Government thereof, they may alter and change the same as they shall finde it to be necessary for their several Governments respectively, without any dependency one upon the other in that respect, and will do so; and they who do not admit of this, by intermedling with that they have nothing to do withall, instead of setling a firm Union and lasting peace between these two Kingdoms, which they do so much pretend unto, do lay the foundation of certain and continuing differences between them, which will be inavoidable; for neither Kingdom will be bound to a dependency upon the other in the Sovereign power thereof, which is the legislative, neither will they forbear in these particulars which shall be now setled, to make new Laws and alter these, as it shall be found necessary for the safety and good Government of either Kingdom: and so often as they shall so do, by the foolish Tenent of these men, there is the ground of a quarrel between the Kingdoms. To prevent this and clear it to all men, the Houses before the sending of these Propositions to the King, saw it fit to make this Declaration which I will here insert.

Die Veneris, 3. *July* 1646.

WHereas the Lords and Commons Assembled in the Parliament of England, *in the name and on the behalf of the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland, *in the name, and on the behalf of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *have thought fit to send unto the King the humble desires and Propositions for a safe, and well grounded peace, agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively: The Lords and Commons of the Parliament of* England *do declare, That it is not their intention, that any construction should be made thereupon, as if either Kingdom had any interest in the matter of each others Propositions; or in the legislative power of each other concerning any of the said Propositions; But that it remaineth distinct in each Kingdom respectively: And that notwithstanding any joint proceedings upon the said Propositions, either Kingdom hath power of themselves to continue, repeat, or alter any Law that shall be made upon the said Propositions, for the good and Government of either Kingdom respectively.*

And it is hereby declared, that both Houses are fully resolved to maintain and preserve inviolable the solemne League and Covenant, and the Treaties betwixt the Kingdoms of England *and* Scotland.

Those who either do not, or will not understand the evil consequences of this Tenent, That the Kingdoms now United, are mutually interressed in the matter of the Propositions of each other to be offered unto the King, and what grounds of present and future differences this must needs occasion, finding the *Treatie* between the two Kingdoms will not make out what they would have herein, add the *Covenant* to it in supply, and then, when they have once named *the solemne League and Covenant*, they presume they have proof enough for their assertion: Truly I should be very glad, these men who pretend it so much, would intend that which might indeed conduce to the firmest conjunction of these two Kingdoms in Unity for all future ages, and that will be when they shall perswade them to joyn in this alone, to obtain for either Kingdom, that which in the judgement of either respectively, is the just right thereof, without intermedling,

medling, or affecting to make themselves Judges in *aliena republica* on either side; and when this shall be once obtained, firmly and constantly to adhere one to the other for the maintaining thereof; this will certainly continue an Union, because their own ends and preservation will herein continue them United; But to think to lay bounds, and put shakles one upon another, for their own advantages, or to take upon them to be Judges, what is fit to be asked of the King, or fit for him to grant to either, and hereby to put themselves into the place of Arbitrators between the King and either Kingdom, or for one of them to impose what sence they please upon those things which have been passed and resolved in the Parliament of the other, and pretend themselves interessed accordingly to require performance agreeable to such a sense and Interpretation as they will put upon what hath passed; all this can have no other issue, but certain breaches and quarrels between the Kingdoms, a thing the enemy waits for: and yet either ignorantly, or wilfully (for some ends) these things have been most insisted upon, by those men who would be thought most zealous for Union, and against any breach between the Kingdoms, though every wise man knoweth, that the pressing and insisting upon these things must needs end in breaches and differences, except they hope we will leave to be *English* men and become their underlings: the carriage and arguments of the *Scotch* Commissioners, at the conference about the Propositions to be sent to the King to the *Isle of Wight*, which they had nothing to do withall, nor to intermedle with, is to all that heard it, and will duely consider it, a Demonstration of this that I have said, and what followed thereupon, confirms it. For their arguments out of these two words, solemn *League* and *Covenant*, either they are two names of one and the same thing; and then it is but a Covenant still; or else they confound things that differ so much, to serve their purpose; for if, by the *League*, they will mean the *Treatie* between the two Kingdoms, and add that to the *Covenant*, as if both were of the same kind and did bind alike in respect of persons interessed and things to be performed and challenged by them, they will find themselves much mistaken; for the *Treatie* is an obligation of the nations, one to perform to the other what is therein agreed, and the one may challenge it from the other Kingdom, as concluded by the representative body of either Kingdom, in the name of the Kingdom; But the *Covenant* is onely an Obligation of every particular man that takes it, to God, for the performance of what is therein contained, and no bond, or stipulation between the Nations, that they may vindicate the breach thereof one upon another; they are to leave the revenge of breach of Covenant to the Lord, upon any particular person that shall therein perjure himself: therefore Parliament men took it as particular men, not as representing the Kingdom; for had that been the intention, the rest of the Subjects needed to have required to take it; so that every individual person layeth a bond upon his own conscience, according to the sence wherein he takes the Covenant, for which he is answerable to God; but this doth no way make one Kingdom answerable to the other for non-performance of what is contained in the Covenant, much less according to such sence and interpretation as either shall think fit for their ends, to put upon it, and then urge the same upon the other; should this be granted, it would minister to them that sought it, sufficient matter and grounds of quarrel between the Kingdoms; for if one Kingdom did judge men in the other did not *reform their lives*, as by the

Covenant they have bound themselves to do, but continued Swearers, Drunkards, Whore-masters, Cosoners, Lyers, not withstanding the Covenant that they have taken, here is a quarrel, for prophanesse is a breach of the Covenant, as well as tolerating Sects, Schisms, and Heresies; if one judge, that they do proceed to the *rooting out of Sects, Schisms, and Heresies according to the Word of God*, that is, according to such rules as the Word of God in that case doth prescribe them to proceed by; and the other think, they do not root them out as they should, and by the Covenant are bound to do, because they do not presently banish all such the Land, as they think liable to these terms, and will call by these names; there is another quarrel: and again *for extirpating Episcopacie according to their place and calling; for maintaining the Kings power in the maintainance of Religion and Liberty*; different judgements herein shall cause a quarrel; nay, if this shall be made the sence of taking the Covenant, not onely quarrels and wars between the two Kingdoms might be occasioned by it, but between parties in the same Kingdom, every one believing it belongs to him, and he is bound to vindicate the breach of the Covenant; and this is likely to make good work, as it hath begun already to do; and this is the fruit of making Oaths and Covenants stalking-Horses to obtain their worldly advantages, and bring about their designs; and therefore when they have put upon them sences that may serve their turns, then they urge them in their debates and Printed Papers spread about to those ends: Let those therefore that truely desire a firm and constant Union between the two Kingdoms, indeavour their Conjunction in settling, and when they are settled, in maintaining the just Rights and Liberties, and Government of either Kingdom, not interesting themselves nor intermedling in one anothers Government; such a mutual assistance appears to be void of private interests and advantages sought after, and will root and increase mutual affections, the surest bond of Union; the other breeds jealousies, and will soon occasion quarrels and Divisions.

I have now discovered the false grounds and rotten foundations, upon which this deceitfull worker builds and carries on his whole design, which is by these lies to poyson the peoples affections, and to their own ruine (for that would prove the issue) to alienate their hearts from the Parliament, that they might be fitted to receive other Lords and Ghides and serve their ends; a design as mischievous, as the means used to abuse and cheat *the honest meaning simpler sort* (as he calls them) into it, are false and malicious: as for the Malignants and Court party, who now hold up their heads more than ever, they fall in with it readily and promote it industriously, knowing a greater advantage cannot be put into their hands, than this, whereby to attain their ends, The overthrow of this Parliament, and thereby the destruction of all honest and godly men in the Kingdom, and the ruine of the Famous Citie of *London*, by whose means principaly, if not onely they hope to effect what they have projected; which being done, the Citie shall be called to an after-reckoning, for the Court will make use of it, to be inabled thereby to be revenged upon it, and it is like enough not spare the Heyfers themselves therein wherewith they now plow, how fear or soever they for the present esteem their condition to be.

I expect I may fall under the censure, of transgressing these rules of making an Answer, by these long digressions made upon occasion, which seem to be wholy of another nature; but I weigh it not at all, so long as I may in any measure

ſure obtain that which I chiefly aim at, which is to prevent the miſchief and ill conſequences of this Lie-tell Pamphlet, if credit ſhould be given unto it; to ſhew where the poyſon lies, and what will be the effect, if once it be ſwallowed; to vindicate the two Houſes of Parliament, and the honeſt men therein in reſpect of their intentions and proceedings, from thoſe lies and ſlanders which this Incendiary endeavours to caſt upon both, hoping thereby to make that go down with the multitude and ſimpler ſort more eaſily and without examination, that may ſerve his turn, and thoſe who ſet him on work: if herein I follow him not ſtep by ſtep in this his wild-goose chaſe, it will be becauſe I think it not worth the labour; in thoſe pieces I take in hand, I will ſhew his falſhood, malice and miſchievous practiſes, whereby thoſe who are not willing to be deceived may make a judgement of the reſt, being all *Ejuſdem farinæ*, a bundle of Tales, ſome falſe, ſome true, but all falſely applied and made uſe of to the ſame end, to poyſon the peoples affections (as I have ſaid) and prepare them for commotious and tumultuous proceedings againſt Supream Authority. One thing more he hath before he comes to *his Diſcourſe* (as he terms it) which I will not omit, becauſe I cannot much differ with him in it, ſuch is our unhappineſs at preſent, and that is where he ſaith, *never was good cauſe ſo ill handled, through the ignorance of ſome weak ones, and the malice of wicked ones*; he omits an ingredient, or two, and thoſe which have greateſt operation, I will add them, and then we ſhall not differ about this matter; they are *Ambition*, and *Envy*, wherewith ſome are ready to burſt; the truth is, theſe have caſt our affairs into ſuch a condition, what with ſnackling Negotiations at Court, and our own Factions and diviſions here, that if God prevent it not, even now in the winding up of all, we are in danger to be in a worſe condition than at any times before: when we conſider what hath fallen, or broken out now of late by the practiſes of *Montrul* the *French* Agent; what we finde at home, what we dayly hear from abroad; we may well reſolve, that if thoſe that are honeſt in both Kingdoms and have right aims and intentions (as I am perſwaded the generality in both have, and it is as certain there are thoſe, who what ever they pretend, are falſe in both) do not firmly Unite themſelves together, laying aſide their differences for the preſent, (which are but concerning the outſide of Religion and Liberty, and may both ſtand without what is conteſted about) that by their joynt forces they may oppoſe and diſappoint the ſecret plots and deſigns of their common Adverſaries, they are like to give themſelves up into their hands, to be laughed at firſt, and ruined afterwards; *Non putaram* being written upon their Tombs.

All this while we have ſtayed in the *porch*, diſcovering the rotten foundations of this building, we will now go into the *Houſe*, and ſee what wares there are within; unraveling the pieces, and diſcovering the deceitfull working, with the falſe and rotten ground-work it hath throughout the whole piece; in doing of which it may be we ſhall lay open to the view of the World *ſome pieces worth obſervation*, inſtead of his counterfeit ſlips.

He begins with *a great complaint of the ill uſage of our brethren of* Scotland, *by ſlanders and falſe reports, ſpread abroad*, as he ſaith, by *Athieſts, Sectaries, Prelatiſts*, &c. *to abuſe the ſimpler ſort of people: in ſetting forth this, and directing the Commiſſioners of* Scotland *what courſe they ought to take to obviate this inconvenience, and in reproving of them for their great miſtakes and want of prudence, in that they had not uſed ſo much wiſdom herein as he thinks fit they ſhould have done*, he

ſpends 14 pages of his diſcourſe: concerning this remedie, and wherein he thinks them failing with the manner of his reproofs, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; firſt we will obſerve that both in this place, and upon all occaſions throughout this Pamphlet in many parts thereof, he is large in making *Invectives againſt the Parliament*, as the truth is, though in ſhew and colourably againſt *ſome parties, and leading men in both Houſes*, for ill uſing of his Countrey men, and ill requiting their well deſervings; which to aggravate the more, he ſets forth *our low and loſt condition*, as he would have men believe, when they come in to aſſiſt us, and amplifieth *their merit and ſervices* very hyperbolically: I have no deſire to detract ought from their merit; I wiſh their affections to us, and aſſiſtance of us may by all be duly valued; but this man, who will make himſelf *their Agent*, hath dealt fooliſhly, and done them no good office, when to advance their well deſerving, he will needs charge us with ingratitude and ill deſerving of them, in that we ſpread abroad reports to their diſgrace; forcing us hereby upon a juſt defence, in a particular wherein we ſhall be able to return the imputation, not onely to our own clearing therein, but to the reproach and ſhame of thoſe, who charge us with it: *Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?*

What theſe *ſiniſter Reports ſpred abroad* are, we hear not; generals ſerve his turn, whoſe end is to deceive; but it is too true, there wanted not matter for reports, had we been willing to ſpread them: the *Letters taken in* Digbies *cabinet*, which were not written to be intercepted, as we may ſee by the brags he makes of his care to keep them ſafe, though the King had loſt his, theſe being taken ſometime after; In one of theſe letters, written from him to *Fermyne*, he ſpeaks plainly of a Treatie he had with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, he being the Kings principal Secretarie; and he is very earneſt with *Fermyne*, to take care, that the Queen, when ſhe ſhall leave off this Treatie between him and them, do not miſconſtrue his intentions in it, as if he would yield to any thing contrary to the directions left by her, and agreed on between her and the King; willing him to aſſure her, that the offer of this Treatie was made to him by them before ever he thought of it, and that the uſe of it ſhould be onely to abuſe them, and ſo being dexterouſly handled much advantage might be made of it: another letter from *Fermyne* confirmeth the ſame thing. Theſe be not *Robin Hoods tales*, nor *Robin Wrights*, nor *the unknown Knights*, with deſcanting upon which names you have endeavored to fence your ſelves againſt other informations come from abroad, which ſound ill enough; but ſecret intelligences, paſſing between ſuch who had no mind to deceive one another, nor could have no end in framing ſuch an untruth: did we Print theſe Letters with other paſſages, and ſpread them about the Citie with *Henry Elſyngs* name ſubſcribed? no, nor the many Letters written unto us out of the North, complaining of unheard of abuſes; nor the Reports made unto us by our Committees of Lords and Commons, who were upon the place and heard the Examinations and Proofs of thoſe horrid abuſes offered at *Tickhil*, and what little or no juſtice was done thereupon; nor the Proteſtation of our Committees, by which, together with thoſe of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as a joynt Committee of both Kingdoms, by the Treatie and League between the Kingdoms, the *Scotiſh* Armie was to be ordered, when notwithſtanding that Armie in taking in of *Carlile*, and in marching into *Weſtmoreland* to that end, ſo much to the prejudice of the publick ſervice, did not onely act this without their knowledge, but contrarie to their conſent, yea, to their proteſting againſt it: Nor

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the information of Sir *John Hanmar*; nor the confeſſion of *Hudſon*, which who ſo will ask any Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſhall underſtand to be a confeſſion of the Kings acting thoſe very things a week after, which Sir *John Hanmar* informeth, he was told by a *Scotch* Commiſſioner and his brother, a week before, the King would do, both agreeing very much in matter, manner and circumſtances; neither theſe, nor divers others of like nature, which I delight not to reckon up, could provoke us to fall upon ſuch a courſe, as to take advantage thereupon to traduce our Brethren, to ſpread abroad reports amongſt the multitude, and ſtir up the people againſt them, by filling their minds with fears and jealouſies, which theſe things being ſpread would quickly have done: Now therefore let the world judge what honeſtie or conſcience, nay rather what ſhameleſs impudencie this man uſeth, in endeavouring to make the people believe this hath been our carriage towards the *Scots*, when it is known, the Houſe of Commons was content, upon a motion of one of their friends, to Order, that all thoſe Letters which did any way concern the *Scots*, ſhould be culled out from the reſt, and not Printed in that reſpect, when the reſt were to be Printed, and Mr. *John Cheſley*, I think, had the care of it, and they were accordingly, or any paſſages in them reflecting upon the *Scots*, ſuppreſſed: But on the other ſide, he knoweth very well and all men elſe, that their Papers given into the Houſes (ſo penned, as ſhewed what uſe they intended to make of them) being full of bitter expoſtulations, unjuſt imputations, and little better than accuſations to the greateſt diſadvantage of the Parliament, were not onely Printed, and ſpread, and cried about the ſtreets, but when that was ill taken and wondered at by all, inſomuch as one of their friends in the Houſe, to excuſe it, affirmed it was done without their conſent or knowledge, and that they diſliked it as much as we did; the Printer thereupon being queſtioned, and the matter enquired into, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners were ſo far from diſclaiming this practiſe, that they ſet forth theſe invective Papers in Print again, with an Epiſtle to avow the Communicating of them to the people, Mr. *John Cheſleys* name (their Secretary) ſubſcribed; and this afterwards they made a common practiſe: he that cals the people to come and ſee a mote in another mans eye, may well be aſhamed when they ſhall find a beam in his own: but it, is obſerved that uſually the wrong doers are the firſt complainers; and here the man hath done it no leſs fooliſhly than unjuſtly, thereby occaſioning, and drawing forth this Reply, which ſheweth what reports we had to ſpread (as he that will take the pains to ſatisfie himſelf, may at any time ſee them in the hands of Mr. *Henry Elſinge* the Clerk of the Commons Houſe of Parliament) and withall what our reſpect ſhewed to them was in ſuppreſſing them, contrarie to this mans tales and lyes, and how unworthy their carriage on the other ſide was towards us in requital, even in the ſame particular. Truly I am ſorrie, this *School-maſter* ſhould find his *leſſons* ſo well learned, and his *reproofs* ſo effectuall in their operation; I will now ſhew what his Leſſons and reproofs are for *matter* and *manner*; For *manner* firſt moſt ſuitable to Mr. *School-maſter*, as you ſhall hear; *You have miſtaken the right way, Sirs, Sirs, herein you are hugely miſtaken*, and again *herein I value your goodneſs, yet in this I cannot eſteem your prudence*; Excellent well for a pedantical Pedagogue, tutoring the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* in matters of State: Is not the Shoo-maker here advanced beyond his Laſt? and yet we ſhall find him hereafter very gravely (*more ſuo*) *reproving others (ſaving their wiſdom) that they would*

fall into such an error, as to put men into imployments wherein (as he will have it) *they had not been experienced:* belike this man was bred a great Statesman, and therefore may take upon him to shew the Commissioners of *Scotland* their ignorance and weakness in managing affairs of State, for so he doth sufficiently. For the *matter*, whosoever weigheth the scope and end aymed at, in what he would have done, shall find, that in the result, it will be of the same nature with those *two or three desperate Remonstrances*, which since the beginning of these troubles, have been spread about, *inviting the people to take notice of the proceedings of Parliament, and if they be not such as give them content to remonstrate against them and inforce that which they approve of, or else let the Parliament know, as they have intrusted them, so they can, when they please, reassume that power which they gave them:* This is a line drawn which meets in the same centre, for what is the end that this man hath in pressing the *Scotch* Commissioners (with so much impudencie, as to befool them for that they had not done it) that they must not content themselves in having delivered their Papers into the Parliament, but must communicate them to the people? is it onely to tell the people a storie? In their Papers, which were fitted for the purpose, there are not onely Apologies for themselves, but complaints in respect of conditions not performed to them, and that sharp pointed enough; Now what can be intended by this man, when he will have these complaints carried to the people and spred about in the Citie, but that the Appeal must be made to them, and they stirred up, by their Petitions and Remonstrances, to cause the Parliament to do their dutie, that is, to do that which this man and his companions, and twentie others such like *Jack Straws* met together, shall judge to be their duties, whatever they themselves upon mature consultation, being therewith wholly intrusted by the established Government of this Kingdom, shall have resolved of as fit for the Kingdom in the present condition thereof? had this man been cured of the itching humour of Scribling, and forborn until the Conference between the Committees of Lords and Commons, and the *Scotch* Commissioners, upon the Propositions to be sent to the King at the Ile of *Weight*, and there heard one of the Commissioners plead, with so much zeal, for the Kings Prerogative to be upheld in this Kingdom, that a Lord could not forbear to tell him; *The Kings Attorney* Herbert *would not have inforced it more, and the Commissioners for the King at* Uxbridge, *he was perswaded, did not press it further, nor with other Arguments:* since he might have feared, this seditious counsel of his, which tendeth to the overthrow not onely of Monarchical, but of all Government, reducing all into the first Chaos of a popular confusion, would not have been so well liked, much less hearkened unto and followed by his Masters; the truth is, there was hardly any one thing that did more unsatisfie wise men, than this, that the Commissioners of another Kingdom, who were sent to the Parliament to keep unitie between the two Kingdoms, and who did so much pretend thereunto, should, by scattering papers about the Citie, appeal from the Parliament, and cause a disaffection, and a division between the Parliament and the people, who are included in the Parliament, and their Votes and consents involved in what they shall resolve upon: for this fellow, that doth give the advice, there is little heed to be taken, what such a pedant shall say in matters of State; but for Statesmen, imployed from one State to another, in a time of so much danger and libertie, not to foresee the ill consequences of such a practise, and how ill it would have been relished in their own

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Kingdom, or any other in like case, is not to be excused: we are not to cut the very nerves and sinews of Government, that we may serve a present turn; they that do so see not far before them, when to serve their turn for the present time; they will do that which will be certain to return upon them at another time to their greater prejudice, yea to the overturning of all Government, whatsoever such practises as these tend directly.

He hath *one instance*, which you must take as a Demonstration of all this, he saith, *such as will not onely make you know it, but feel it to be according to sence and reason*; we did indeed feel that to our cost sufficiently, which produced *those Papers*, he makes his instance, *given in about the latter end of* May, *when there were high murmurings* (as he calls them) *in both Houses and elsewhere, upon their Armies marching unexpectedly clean another way*, when they should have come up to *Darbie*, according to the rendezvous set and agreed upon, both here by their Commissioners at the Committee of both Kingdoms, and there by their General with our Committee upon the place, and this when our Committees there least thought of it: But for the *satisfaction* he speaks of, *given by those papers*, they satisfied no man, but those who meant to be satisfied with any thing; for could any man, that would not forfeit his reason, and put out his own eyes, be satisfied for the overthrow of a Summers design, as well laid as any ever was (had not this corner stone sunk away, and failed) with such a tale as this, *that a Scot of Sr.* William Brereton, *and one come to him from the enemy* (it may be sent purposely) *told him, the King meant to send* 500 *Horse, by the way of* Lancashire, *into* Scotland? What if this Scot told a tale, he heard, or made under a hedge; was such a fellow likely to be made acquainted with the Kings Counsels? We know well how apt *Sr. William Brereton* was to take Alarms, and upon how little ground; was this a ground for the whole Army to March from the service appointed of greatest consernment, and let all fall to the ground that was built upon their advancing Southward, and instead thereof run Northward with such speed, as had they according to direction (and as is reported their Generals desire) advanced but half so fast Southward, neither *Lesester* had been taken, the Counties adjoyning spoiled and plundered, nor the Kings Army, as *Oxford* in probability escaped out of our hands: behold the *more sensible Demonstration*; yet I will not wrong him, there is one thing more in the Manifesto, which is, that there *was want of draughts*: it must be want of draughts to go forward; for there was no want of them to go backwards 14. miles in a day, before ever the Committee, by whom they were to be directed, so much as heard of the Armies removing: the Committee was sure to blame, too provide Carts with such wheels as could run Northward, but neither go nor stir Southwards. He tells us, *after some days a Copie of these papers fell by chance into the hands of a well-willer of the* Scots, *and he printed it, and gave a name to it, calling it* [The Scots Manifest,] *and then all the world became satisfied, and this did them more good then all that ever they had done, yea, as he was told, it flew over beyond the Seas, and did great matters there for the* Scots: do these men think, lying may not be enumerated for one of the scandalous sins? were these papers printed by chance? did they so fall into this mans hands who printed them? and take a journey over the Seas (if there were any such thing) and all by chance, without the knowledge of the *Scots*? even so just as this Pamphlet (*this manifest*) had its birth, and travels beyond the Seas (for the further from home, the easier credited) all was by

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chance: moſt probable it is, this very man was the ſame, who hath been made the Midwife, to bring to the birth all thoſe Gipſies, that have of late run up and down, to cheat and coſen the people. But if you will have a true Character of this Incendiary, who when he had indeavoured to ſet all the Town on fire, takes his heels and runs away; if you would ſee what flame it is he would kindle here amongſt us, take it from the 11 and 12 pages, where *when he had reproved the* Scotch *Commiſsioners for their want of ſtoutneſs*, and for being (as he calleth it) *Meal-mouthed both in the Aſſembly and other meetings* (where likewiſe he runs out and reviles thoſe men that are much honeſter than himſelf, or thoſe who ſet him on this work, and approved of, both to ſit in Parliament and in the Aſſembly) he then falls into an admiration of *Knox* and *Buchanan* and the carriage of buſineſſes in thoſe times, when he ſaith, *nothing did prevail or do good to the cauſe, but reſolution and zeal in Carrying things, not onely againſt the common Enemie, but againſt falſe friends; though the Cards be new, yet the Game*, he ſaith, *is the ſame with that, their Fathers played in* Scotland: we may imagin what he would be at, the good cauſe in hand muſt be ſo carried on now, as it was then; the multitude ſtirred up, by the Pulpit and the Preſs, to riſe againſt lawful Authoritie, and force what they think good to call for, or ſhall be coſened and cheated into the deſire of, under the ſpecious pretences of Religion and Reformation; and if any, whom ſuch a fellow as this is will deſign out for *oppoſers* and *falſe friends*, becauſe they ſhall be found to ſtand for the preſervation of the Government eſtabliſhed, and the Priviledges, Libertie and Freedom of the Houſes of Parliament according to the Covenant (which part of it, by theſe men, is uſually ſkipped over) then ſome men, full of his zeal, muſt break into their chambers and cut their throats, of their own Authoritie, that ſo they may carrie on the good cauſe with ſtoutneſs, *for there is no way to make the wicked leave or grow wearie of reſiſting and oppreſſing goodneſs*, he ſaith, *but by a vigorous and ſtout oppoſition*; and what that is, he tells you, in telling you what times, and whoſe examples in thoſe times you are to imitate; this will be indeed to play the old game in the ſame manner, though with new cards: For my part, I ſhould much rather have caſt a mantle upon the nakedneſs of thoſe times, than affected to diſcover the ſame, had not this deſperate man propoſed them to imitation in a time ſo unſeaſonable, and in an ill conjuncture of affairs to produce ſuch examples in: I know the intentions of many were good and pious in thoſe times, it may be many things were done which thoſe good men approved not of: beſides the game was not the ſame; they plaid for the kernel it ſelf, we for the ſhell of Religion; yet I never heard of any ſober Divine, that would juſtifie the carrying on of Reformation in that manner, by private men, againſt the Laws and Government eſtabliſhed in a Kingdom: The removing of Idolatrie out of a Kingdom, and introducing the Truth of the Goſpel, is a bleſſing to be deſired and preferred before all earthly things, but we muſt wait upon God for it, that we may have what he promiſeth, in his way, and in his time, and not think to help him by our lyes; he needs not the ſin of man to help forwards that which is for his glorie and the good of his children; he will certainly (as *Job* ſaith) reprove it, as he doth abhor it: but ſuch men as theſe, whom we now deal withall, if they make themſelves, and can onee make others believe, it is the bleſſing which they ſeek, they care not what the means be they uſe to obtain it, be it lying, coſening, or deceiving even their own Fathers.

After

After an *Epiſtle* of 16 pages, and 14 more of his *Diſcourſe*, ſpent in preparatorie tales and deviſes, at length he tels us he will now *thus begin*, and there begins a ſtorie, wherein are ſo many falſhoods mixed with ſome truths, and the truths themſelves ſo diſguiſed, to ſerve his malice againſt ſome, and magnifie others beyond all belief, yea, beyond what is the known truth; that it looks like thoſe pieces of ancient ſtorie, which we endeavor to gather out of Poets, who to advance ſome particular man or men, whom they intend to make the principal ſubject of their Poem, deſtroy the Hiſtories, diſgracing ſome men, to extol others, with ſo many fictions, and made-tales, that no man knoweth what is truth: ſo here, the ſcope and end aymed at being to advance and magnifie his own Nation (for which this impartial man makes himſelf throughout this whole Pamphlet an advocate) he makes ſuch a Romance of it in their behalf, and manifeſteth, in ſtead of truth, ſo much falſhood againſt this Nation in general, traducing both Parliament and Committees of Parliament, and againſt particular men, who have deſerved beſt, and for the moſt part all in generals, *ut Doloſus*, neither inſtancing in things, nor perſons particularly; that no wiſe man will ſuffer himſelf to be abuſed by it, but regard it as a Rattle, onely fit to draw together, and lead children and fools.

I envie not the praiſe that the merit of the *Scots* ſhall duly acquire them, I wiſh it were much more than it is, and would not detract from what is due in the leaſt degree, and it is my deſire that now in the winding up of all, their carriage may be found ſo fair, that they may thereby ſtop the mouthes that have been opened againſt them, and by real actions (which, where there hath been ſo much cauſe given, can onely do it) root out all jealouſies; but this I will ſay, that where there is true worth, it needs not the diſgracing of other men to ſet it forth, and no generous ſpirit would do it, or endure it ſhould be done for him.

This man having with impudencie enough reproched the *Scots* Commiſſioners, for being Mealie-mouthed, as I have ſhewed before, now begins his tale, in the firſt enterance *falls ſo fouly upon the King*, that you may be ſecure he means not therein to be found guiltie of that fault; *The Deſign laid*, he ſaith, *was to overthrow Religion and the Civil Government, introducing ſpiritual and temporal ſlaverie; for the King finding the Parliament not onely to hinder, but utterly deſtroy his Deſign, reſolves to deſtroy his Parliament; to that end practiſes firſt with his own Armie to bring them up, to that purpoſe, offering to them in reward the plunder of the Citie of* London; *this being diſcovered and not taking, next he dealeth with the* Scotch *Army, to ingage them in this good work, making the ſame offer to them of the plunder of the City, and that it might not fail, adds thereunto the four Northern Counties, to be given them and adjoyned to their Kingdom, of this, that they may be aſſured, jewels of great value are offered to be pawned unto them; this failing alſo, in the third place, that he might not always be diſappointed, he takes by the hand the Papiſts of* Ireland, *his good friends, and ſends them Commiſsion under the broad Seal of the Kingdom of* Scotland (*which was then, as he ſaith in his own keeping*) *to take up arms according to former agreement, which ſo ſoon as they had the Commiſſion, they did, and brake forth into that Rebellion, wherein ſo many Engliſh men, ſo many Proteſtants, becauſe ſuch, have been ſo barbarouſly murthered; this done by Agreement, by Commiſſion under the broad Seal of* Scotland: then concludes, *he will affirm, that in the latter end of King James his time, and in King Charles, by their Commiſſions, approbations, connivencies, and not forbidding, at home and a*

beginning

heard, there hath been more Chriſtian bloud ſhed, than in the time of the Roman Perſecutions, all which upon the matter they might have ſtopped, if it had been their pleaſure. You will believe in this particular the mans *mouth* was not ſtopped with *meat*: But what is his meaning in all this? is it, that we might be the more carefull, not to diminiſh any thing of the Kings Power? to take care that the Militia might not be taken out of his hands? but his prerogative maintained, and we taught what the Oath of Alleageance, here in *England*, obligeth us unto, by the *Scots* Commiſſioners, for fear we ſhould deveſt the King of any of that power which we ſee, if we may believe what this man tells us, he is likely to imploy ſo much to our ſafety? is it to perſwade the Parliament and Citie, that now the Army may ſecurely be diſbanded, they need keep up no Forces whereby their ſafety may be in their own hands and keeping, but put themſelves wholly into the Kings protection, and theirs, who carry on his deſigns here amongſt us? we know this hath been contended for, in the late conference upon the Propoſitions, by the *Scots* Commiſſioners, with long Orations, and elaborate penned ſpeeches, read out of a Paper and fitted for the Preſs, afterward Printed and ſpread about the Citie; we know likewiſe what practiſes there have been, and ſtill are to diſband this Army, though another Army be yet in the Kingdom, of ſtrangers, our Towns not delivered, and when the King was kept under a Guard in that Army in our own Kingdom and refuſing to grant our Propoſitions, but in ſtead thereof, the Peace with the Rebels of *Ireland*, ſince his being in that Army, confirmed, and the Rebels going on with all violence to root both Proteſtants and *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*: The man certainly could not think theſe things, he would have the World know and believe to have been the Kings practiſes, are requiſite *precognita*, to fit men to become *idonei auditores hujus Philoſophiæ*, which by his maſters, the *Scots* Commiſſioners (for whom he will make himſelf an Agent all along) was taught and preſſed with ſo much Zeal; and therefore he ſhould have adviſed better with thoſe his Countrey-men, who mannaged the Conference about the Propoſitions, before he had ſuffered his Pen to laſh out in this manner in theſe particulars, the proof whereof I leave to himſelf, and the credit to be given thereunto, to thoſe who eſteem him worthy to be believed; but if they be truths, the Citie of *London* may now be warned, to have a more watchfull eye upon their Malignants, who drive on the Court deſigns amongſt them; for having cajoled and deceived the honeſt meaning men, by perſwading them, they are for Reformation of Religion, the Preſbyterian Government, and againſt Sects, Schiſms and Hereſies, (whereof they have no more care, than of their old ſhoes, but as they may make theſe ſpecious pretences ſtalking-Horſes to compaſs their own ends) they, ſtrengthned by the numbers of theſe, whom they have drawn along with them (as the men of *Iſrael*, who went out of *Jeruſalem* in the ſimplicity of their hearts after *Abſolom*, who intended treaſon) drive on their deſigns now for the Court, like *Jehu*, the Son of *Nimſhi*, *ſtings*, furiouſly, never ſo audacious, never ſo induſtrious as of late; & had not God prevented them by making ſome diſcoveries unexpected to them, and very croſs to their contrivements, when the King came ſo neer *London* and waited there, untill advertiſement came unto him; that which lies under ground, and is the more eaſily hid, becauſe men will not ſee, had broken forth openly and ſhewed it ſelf in its own colours: in the beginning of theſe troubles a Malignant, or Court-partiſan could not peep up and ſhew his head, but the vigi-

lancy

lancy of the well-affected was such, as they were presently nipped in the very bud of their plots; but now forsooth they are become well-affected men themselves, such as love Reformation, and are carefull the King may receive no wrong, in his Prerogative onely, according to the Covenant; a strange alteration, God grant it prove not an infection sent from Heaven, because God is not pleased with us, nor with the contentions and divisions, which grow amongst us, and that if not timely considered and looked unto, it indanger not this famous Citie to taste of that cup, which this man saith, hath been twice prepared for them: they, who being twice threatned, and warned the third time, shall yet suffer themselves to be led into the ditch, are surely blind-folded and worse than a beast. But this I must observe before I leave this passage, that whatever else be true in it, that is assuredly false which he saith concerning *the Scots giving advertisements, of the Negotiations with their Army, to the Parliament and Citie, at that time when it was in acting, that they might make their best use of it*: It was indeed generously done of them, to abhor such an overture, as that was, which would have made them, or any other, infamous to all posterity; neither will I say, that they were any way obliged, as things then stood, to make an open discovery of it (which this man will needs figment for their advantages) the truth being so far contrary to it, that one, who had been imployed a Commissioner to this Kingdom, out of *Scotland*, did long after, to an *English* Commissioner sent into *Scotland*, accuse an *English* Peer, for having dealt unfaithfully, in discovering to the King this great secret of *Hendersons* Negotiation with their Army, when it was spoken of, as he said, onely in the presence of three, and no more; and they would needs have that Lord to be the man of those three who did discover to the King, that it had been revealed here in *England*; therefore you see what a secret it was at that time, and how far from being revealed to the Parliament and Citie; for if both Parliament and Citie had known it, would any man be so simple as to imagin the King should be ignorant of its being revealed here in *England*, that he needed the discovery of a secret, to know that which could be no secret, when once in such hands as Parliament and Citie: but that Lord, whom I have heard they named, was unjustly traduced in it, as he himself hath since professed: the *Scots* Commissioner was the Earle of *Crafford*, *Linsey*, the *English* Mr. *Henry Darloe*; and I believe the Lord *Linsey* (for so he was then, being made an Earle afterwards) to be so Noble that he would not have done that Lord so much wrong, but that he was wronged himself by some, that, it may be being of the Cabal, had informed the King, and would excuse themselves, by accusing a man that was innocent: but this I instance in, to shew this mans falshood: To over-do officiously in the commendation, and setting forth of his Countrey-men, this man takes to be no sin; you must give him leave, in this Pamphlet of his, to be of the Popish faith in that particular point.

Having cast dust upon the King, and laid him low enough in the opinion of those that will believe what he saith (for I dare say, he cannot instance in one of those whom he fills his cheeks continually and swells out in railing against, when he meets with their names, as Independents, Sectaries, Schismaticks, or those hot headed men, who set wholy upon violence, as he saith in one place, could not like of the moderation of his Countrey-men, who upon all occasions desired to draw on a Treaty upon Propositions; there is not one amongst them all, that sets forth the King and represents him so unfit to be treated with, and

truſted with Government, as this hot head here hath done) having thus begun with the head, he proceeds to lay the Kingdom alſo in a condition as low as the duſt; and all this he thinks little enough to advance the potencie, and ſet forth the charity of his Countrey-men: he tells us in the firſt place, *what a condition we were in, when the conteſt was between the King and them about the Service-book*, and will needs make the World believe, *the Kings Armie was ready to ſtarve for want of proviſions*, that had *England* at the back of it; *but theirs*, that had *Scotland* behinde it, *ſo plentifully provided of all things, that out of their abundance and charitie they ſupplied the wants of the* Engliſh *Armie, which they might have undone if they would*. This is known to be ſuch a falſhood, and, by any underſtanding man who knows their Nation, will eaſily be believed to be ſo, that it may very well be coupled with that which next followeth, which is, *that they had the flower of the Kings Armie in their power, and ſuffered them to return ſafe back*; he means, he tells you, *the Partie that went to* Dunſlaw; by which you may ſee the Pedant takes up things upon truſt, or in the ſtreets as they are brought to him; for there was no ſuch party went to *Dunſlaw* at all, but to *Kelſoe*, and theſe might have been taken indeed, if they could (as we bid Children take Birds) have laid Salt upon their tails; they were Horſes, and that piece of the *Scots* Army, which was at *Kelſoe*, were Foot, it is very likely, that Horſe could not return from Foot, without their leave: you muſt give the Gentelman liberty to ſpeak of matters of War according to his experience, *for he will not* be found to *meddle in things he hath not been bred up to, that he is very ſevere againſt others for*: baſe fopperies; it is well enough known, that Lord, who commanded the party which went to *Kelſoe*, was willing rather to return, than to be made the firſt man that ſhould ingage theſe two Kingdoms in a war, and that was well enough known to be the ſence of all the Nobility and Gentry which were drawn thither, and of this whole Kingdom, as appeared afterwards in Parliament: To this alone, under God, had you ingenuity enough to do it, you ſhould attribute, not onely the ſaving of that party of yours at *Kelſoe*, but your whole Army and your Kingdom; for the King knew he had power enough to effect what he deſired, and you in humane reaſon could not be thought able to reſiſt it; but he had not the hearts of thoſe for this work, who were with him, and therefore he knew he could make little uſe of their hands in it: this it was which gave you means both at firſt, and the ſecond time, to do your buſineſs to your content, yet we muſt be told what favours we received the ſecond bout, when by the wicked practiſes of the Arch-Biſhop Laud, confederating himſelf with the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, that he might the better carry on his deſign (which God brought upon their own heads, to the ſevering of them from their bodies) the agreement between the King and *Scots*, whereat all this Kingdom rejoyced, was broken, and preparations for War renewed on both ſides: he tells us, *the* Scots, *not thinking it fit, the ſeat of the War ſhould be in their own Kingdom, invade* England, *and after they had routed a partie of their Enemies, they did not, as it was in their power, purſue their victorie, but ſtaid at* New-Caſtle *untill an agreement was made between the King and them*: It is very true, they were too wiſe to purſue that which he calls a victory, for after ſome of our Forces had received a ruffle, which was not much conſiderable, if they had preſſed upon the whole body of the Army, which was much ſtronger than theirs and better Armed, they might not onely have loſt their victory, which he brags of, but their Army, and

been

een constrained to go home without their Errant: they knew their staying in New-Castle would give their friends (who abhorred the dashing of the two Kingdoms one against another in a causeless War, as much as *Joab* did the commandment of the King to number the people) opportunity to make their peace, and obtain their desires much better, sooner, and with more safety to them, than if by shewing forwardness to shed *English* bloud, they should have incensed them, and in stead of friends, made both them and the whole Kingdom real Enemies unto them; he that wrings *the Nose, will bring forth bloud*: it had been too great folly for them, to fall into, to provoke this Kingdom and ingage it in earnest against them; the King would have desired no more (as he saith) so little did he, or indeed had cause to fear the power of the *Scots*, would the Nobility and Power of *England* have ingaged with him; but he quickly saw what he might expect (and what the *Scots* knew well enough, and did prudently, to wait for) by that Petition, which the Noble men sent from *London* to him, and which was seconded by the desires of the Citie and whole Kingdom. This affection to your peace, and good, manifested then, and afterwards without parallel, by giving you the brotherly assistance (things never to be forgotten by that Kingdom) prevented your ruine, obtained your peace upon your own terms, and made you rich; it was not any fear of your Army, which without these things could have effected nothing but your own hurt: I speak to you Mr. Pamphleter in the same person, you will needs at your pleasure assume; you will take upon you, when you please, to personate the *Scots* Commissioners, sometimes again all the *Scots*, another time the Estates of *Scotland*; you shall Sir, at my pleasure, to receive your answers. But what notice doth this pedant take of the Noble mens Petition? No more than of a sign-post in his way, looks upon it onely, and rides on, though it was the very hinge upon which all our affairs for the good of both Kingdoms at that time turned about; he saith *the incoming of the Scots gave occasion and libertie to divers of the Nobles of* England *to desire a Parliament*; what effect had that? nothing? all must be attributed unto the *Scots* Army; whereas that, without this Petition, and the known fence of the Citie and Kingdom concurring therewith, had been no more, than the fly upon the wheel; and yet he will needs make the granting of the Parliament, and the continuance of it, to be done by the King for fear of the *Scots* Army, yea further, the preservation thereof also from total destruction and ruine must be put in to set forth the merit, and magnifie the great works done by that Army; a foppery so ridiculous, as is sufficient of it self to discover this Agent for the *Scots*, and his work in this Pamphlet to all knowing men: what the deeds of that Army were, which he attributes our preservation unto, I shall shew hereafter; in the mean time see the impudency of this spatterer, in casting dirt upon those Noble men, whom posterity hath cause to honour to all generations, and thus they might have this honour, in the beginning of this Parliament the House of Peers publickly gave them thanks, and appointed withall, that their names should be entered upon record in their Journal book, with their thanks given unto them, as an acknowledgement of the service they had done the Kingdom by that act of theirs? This fellow makes no other use of it than to magnifie the *Scots* Army, and aspersе those Noble men, of whom he saith some have betrayed the cause of God and his people, what by open War, and what by clandestine undermining; those, who by open War have opposed the Parliament are known, and let them

beat their shame; but for the other aspersion of clandestine undermining, it is applicable to any of them being left uncertain, and therefore none of them are free from it; The man hath evil thoughts against some of whom he can speak no ill, for if he could, you should be sure to have it; it is a secret, that, the truth is, he himself was never acquainted withall, onely he hath so little charity as to make himself a Judge out of his own evil thoughts, and would very willingly have other men do so too, hoping they may fix upon those persons his malice would render suspected, whose worth dazels his eyes, and stirs his spleen the more, because he findes the constant integrity of their carriage to be such that it muzzels up his foul mouth.

(Poetica licentia)

Magne Pater divum Lippos punire bubones;
Haud alia ratione velis, tam dira libido
Moveris Ingenium ferventi tincta veneno,
Virtutem ut videant, intabescantque relicta.

He comes now to the breaking forth of the *Irish* Rebellion, the occasion and rise he gives the King the honour of, as hath been observed, and that by his Commission under the broad Seal of *Scotland*; but this is not sufficient to serve his turn, except *the King* be made to have *a plot*, which neither came into his head, and was as far from his heart, and all this to set forth how formidable the *Scots* Army was; *the plot was, by his Court Parasites and other Emissaries, to possess the people with jealousies of the Scots Armie, that they may be sent home and disbanded, for untill that were done, the Irish neither would, nor durst enter upon any action*, as before he had said, *the fear of them kept the English Army from doing what they had promised*: the King did so little fear this bug-bear, of his setting up, that having prevailed with some of the chief Officers of his own Army, and thereby put in hope to bring the Army to his desires, he would have been glad rather of such an occasion to keep them still on foot, than plotted the going of the *Scots* Army out of the Kingdom, whereupon he knew his own must needs be disbanded; for he very well knew, if he could master the Parliament and Citie by his own Army, he should easily bring the *Scots* Army to what terms he pleased: But what may we gather out of this to be their meaning? when we had given the *Scots* 300000 *l.* (a sum seldom, or never heard of in that Kingdom) for an income, and paid them so well for doing their own work; have they the confidence to expect, that we should besides have made their Army a state for term of life within the Kingdom? belike it was our sillines, that we did not disband our own Army, the War being ended, and keep on foot theirs, which came in to invade us, for our safe-guard: he intends not sure to put us to so much charge, as to have kept both Armies when all was agreed, but thinks it was very fit for us to put our trust under their shadow, for there we are sure to be safe: I begin now to fear, that if they shall perceive, we can by Pamphlets and Papers Printed to be spread about, be made such Ideots as to believe this to be made manifest truth, that it was a great sillines in us, not to keep their Army in our Kingdom for our Guard, when they came in as Enemies to invade us, they may be incouraged to hope that in time, fit means being used to abuse the

the people (as long tedious papers ſpread amongſt them, with long ſentences, involving the ſence that the ſilly ones will never underſtand, and ſome ſpecious arguments intermixed, leſt all ſhould be thought non-ſence and unintelligible) they may prevail to make us further ſenſible of our own condition, and perſwade us, we are indeed grown lunatick and not of a diſpoſing capacitie; and as we are not fit to be truſted with diſpoſing of the Kings perſon within the Kingdom, ſo as unfit are we to diſpoſe of our Towns, or our ſelves without their care; and therefore to ſave charges we may do well to diſband our own Armie (a thing that by many practiſes hath been attempted) and take theirs to be our Keepers, and to keep the King and our Towns for us: for the caſe is much altered, and much fairer now; this Armie came in as Friends and Brethren, joyned in the ſame cauſe with us, and by a holy League and Covenant bound to take care of our ſafetie and preſervation, no leſs than of the ſafetie & preſervation of the Kings perſon; and eſteeming us ſo extreamly Scotomiſed of late and in the dark, that we are not able to diſcern the dangers that may befall us, nor to defend our ſelves againſt them without their eyes to ſee by, and their hands to help us, being alſo warned by former experience, as this fellow ſheweth, what danger befel us by their going out of the Kingdom before with their Armie, and how great a fillineſs it was, both in us and them, to be ſo over-reached by the Malignants at that time, as not to keep that Armie in the Kingdom; no doubt the *Scots* and this Armie of theirs now will be ſo acquainted with the height of miſchief, which they were not then, as he ſaith, that they will not ſuffer us to fall into it again, for want of their help, and the help of their Armie; and we will be perſwaded not to be ſo ſilly as to truſt our own Army, that conſiſts of Schiſmaticks, Hereticks and independents, and ſend theirs out of the Kingdom, who are all Orthodox, and all ſuch as we may take by the hand in the mift that is now caſt before our eyes, and let them lead us whither they pleaſe without fear: for the man tells us *the* Scots *ever did, and ſtill do, purſue their point* (that is his expreſſion) I think he means, that which is now worn thread-bare by being ſo often ſpoken, and ſo little minded, *the ends contained in the Covenant*; yet what *point* he means, I leave to himſelf to explain; but what *point* hath been purſued by them, eſpecially of late and ſtill is, every wiſe man may eaſily diſcern: for the *Covenant*, if that be the *point*, it ſerveth and will ſtand (as it is now made uſe of) to all the points of the Compaſs, made a very ſtalking-horſe to politick deſigns, made what every man pleaſeth, and ſo the name of God is taken in vain to a great provocation. I have cauſe to fear, by what I ſee expreſſed by this Emiſſarie and Agent in his Pamphlet, and what I have obſerved elſewhere ſince, that we may have ſome ſuch point purſued as I have here ſpoken of, and that by colour of the Covenant; for we are grown not onely dark and blind, but ſufficiently eſteemed ſuch; and truly if ſuch things as theſe lately practiſed to be put upon us, and in ſuch a manner put forward, as we have ſeen, will not prove eye-ſalve unto us, we are ſtark ſtone blind, and fit to be ſent *ad Anyceras* to recover their wits.

The King was in Scotland *when this barbarous rebellion brake forth*; *the* Scots he ſaith, *offered him their ſervice to repreſs it, before it grew worſe*; *the King refuſeth it by pretence of doing nothing without the advice of his Parliament in* England, *whither he poſteth*; when he *came there, he goeth ſeldom to the Parliament, ſaid nothing of the Iriſh Rebellion, untill he was conſtrained to it, and then faint, cold, and ambiguous*: ſo this man here again will make the King author of the

Rebellion

Rebellion, and lay uppon him the guilt of all that bloud of the Proteſtant and Engliſhmen ſo barbarouſly and inhumanely ſhed by thoſe cruel Rebels.

I wiſh with all my heart he had not contracted too much of the guilt thereof, by that Peace he made with thoſe barbarous beaſts to advance his ill begun, and worſe proſecuted deſignes here: God from heaven, by the ſucceſs, hath made it manifeſt, how deteſtable both were unto him; God grant the King may lay it to his heart, and make his uſe of it, leaving to truſt to new plots, leaſt the ſame hand be ſtretched out ſtill againſt him, and cauſe a worſe thing to befall him, which yet he may prevent by repenting, by being plain, and clear in his ways with his people, and caſhiering Juglers, and ſo be happy] yet in his latter end. *The Scots he ſaith, follow the King to London with their Commiſſioners to offer the aſſiſtance of* 10000. *men to be ſent into* Ireland: we no way doubt of their willingneſs to ſettle 10000. men in *Ireland*; you may ſpare your labor in endeavouring to prove it by their coming ſuch a journey to promote it: he complaines, *that both in Councell and Parliament it met with oppoſition, and was delaied by the corrupt and ignorant party then*; belike it was a party that hath been better inſtructed ſince, and made more ſound by ſuch applications, as have been uſed to recover them; you know it very well to be ſo, and how effected by your Commiſſioners; but for the oppoſition, he ſpeakes of, which was made to their propoſition of 10000. men (for fewer they would not ſend) had it been then believed, that it would have been ſo long before they had been landed there, that we might have ſent as many out of *England* that would have been there before them, certainly not onely a party, but every man would have been againſt the ſending of them; for nothing did ſway with thoſe, who were for the admitting of their propoſitions, but the hope alone, that men from thoſe parts might be ſo ſpeedily put over into that Kingdom, that the rebellion thereby might have been cruſhed in the bud, and firſt riſe of it; but it proved altogether otherways; for we could have ſent as many from our own Kingdom as ſoon, if not ſooner, than they landed there to be of any uſe to us; and there is none, who would not have been of that minde, that it was much better to uſe our own than ſtrangers; they would certainly have done our work as well, obeyed our commands much better, and that Kingdom would have maintained them at as cheap rates, and the reckoning, which they would have brought us in at laſt, would have been as little and as eaſily diſcharged.

Though they came late, yet when they came, he brags *they went on with ſuch ſucceſs, that they quickly cleared the North countrey of* Ireland, *of the rebels*: I I wiſh the rebels do not clear it of them; I will not ſay what they did when they came, but if we ſhould believe the reports of thoſe, who have their eſtates there in the North of *Ireland*, and are imployed here in *England*, ſome of them in Parliament, and there conſtantly have gone along with thoſe the *Scots* take for their great friends at this time, and therefore they cannot be thought to ſpeak out of ill affection, they have ſaid, that when there have been fair opportunities offered, to clear the Countrey indeed of the Rebels, and wholly break them, whereby there might have been made a ſpeedie end of the War, they have deſired the Commander in Chief of the Scots there, to lay hold of thoſe advantages, and joyn with the *Britiſh* Forces to that end, and have been not onely refuſed that, but when they have deſired to have leave to do it themſelves, they have been forbidden and hindered; I leave the proof hereof to the ſpeakers

ers themſelves, onely I will ſay if this be true, here they did not purſue *their point*, and for the truth thereof, ask Sr. *John Clotworthie*, your great friend.

After many races run from one Kingdome to another, and many turnings from one deviſe to another, to turn his ſtorie of the *Scots* and their Armies, both for us and againſt us, into a ſillie Romance, to make it appear how they purſued *their point*, notwithſtanding all the hardſhip that befel them, and the great adventures of cold and hunger they encountered with; he comes in the 22 page to remember himſelf of returning to *England*, and there begins to ſhew, *how the misled King, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe Traitors that followed him (all other deviſes & plots contrived by him and his to that end failing) ſets this deſigne on foot, to make open war againſt his Parliament to deſtroy it:* it is true, it was not for a Service-book, or for aboliſhing Epiſcopacie, this War was made; in this, by chance, he is ſtumbled upon a truth; it was indeed a War made to deſtroy the Parliament of *England*, that is the Government of *England* in the very root and foundation thereof; and hereby it appears, what it was that we defended, and how juſt and neceſſarie that defence was: we do not hold it lawful to take up Arms, thereby to force the alteration of laws alreadie made, or the making of new; there are other ways and means to be uſed, whereby the three Eſtates, who are Coordinate in this Legiſlative, which is the higheſt Power, may come to agree and conſent in that which ſhall appear to be for the publick good in the making and alteration of Laws; we took up Arms to defend the two Houſes of Parliament, which are the two eſtates coordinate with the third, the King, in the Supream power of this Kingdom, from being out-raged by a company of Ruffians gathered together in the Kings Houſe, and keep there ſome dayes for that purpoſe, and in the end led to the doors of the Commons Houſe of Parliament by the King, with Swords and Piſtols, to pull out the Members thereof by violence upon faigned and groundleſs pretences, whereof there never was ſo much alleadged as the leaſt ſhew of proof to this day; and the World is ſufficiently ſatisfied, that there was nothing in it that had a colour, or ſhadow of truth; that this might not be effected another time, as it was then attempted, we were neceſſitated to deſire a Guard, which was denied, except we would have it in ſuch hands as we knew would be a Guard upon us, and not to ſecure us; this demand was no more than what the intruſted power the King hath, muſt by conſtitution of this Government, be imployed to provide for inferiour Courts of Judicature in the Kingdom, which are by Law eſtabliſhed, for the ſworn Officer, which is the Sherieff, not any other whom the King pleaſe, muſt raiſe the whole power of the County, if need require, to ſecure thoſe Courts, that Juſtice may be adminiſtred in them according to Law, without terrour, and that ſuch judgements as they ſhall give, may be duely executed; for the Law is the Rule of every ſuch judgement, not the Kings will, and the Application of this Rule muſt be in the Courts eſtabliſhed by Law, not otherwiſe at the Kings pleaſure, and that by ſworn Judges alſo, not by any other perſon whom the King will think fit to appoint, neither is the execution to be left to whom the King will ſend, but the ſworn Officers to King & Kingdom muſt ſee it done, & may raiſe power to that end by their Office, the power of the whole County, and thereby ſuppreſs any power that ſhall oppoſe, or hinder the ſame, though warranted by the Kings Command in word, or writing; and in doing this the Sherieff ſhall do no more than mainrain the Kings Power in his politick capacity, as King of *England*, againſt the paſſions and luſts

of his person, as a private man misled by the evil Counsels of Sycophants: Now if this be a truth, according to the constitution of this Government, that the power, which this Kingdom hath invested the King thereof with, for the good and safety of it, must be thus exercised, as concerning inferiour Courts and subordinate, that they may sit without terrour, in giving judgements according to Law without fear, or favour, or respect to persons: that Delinquents may not be taken and kept by force from Justice in those judicatories, nor the execution of their judgements, pronounced according to the Laws of the Land, by violency be opposed, but that violence, if any be offered, must be suppressed by the Kings legal power (which is all the power that of right he hath) though it should be countenanced by his personal Commands and presence, which as King he cannot be supposed to do: how much more ought this Supreamest Court to have all this performed to them, by the *Posse*, not of the County alone where they sit, but of all the Counties, the *Posse totius Regni*, which they represent: and of that assistance, this highest Court of the Kingdom and Supreamest judicatory (wherein the two estates, in the very first constitution and Coalition of this Government, are joyned as coordinate with the third, not subordinate) stood in need, yea, had been utterly subverted without it. This man hath so much of truth in his discourse as to say it was intended, and all men saw it was practised and pursued; Forces were raised under the shadow of vain and frivolous pretenses to destroy them, and Traitors to the State and Kingdom by force detained from their justice, yea, from trial by them. In such a case, when one estate of three, that is intrusted with the executive power, will not exercise the same, to the ends for which he hath that trust, when necessarily required so to do, but withdraw, or oppose, that failer must be supplied by the other; for there must be an exercise of power intrusted, to the ends for which it is intrusted, that the Kingdom suffer not destructive detriment: Common reason will dictate to every man in such cases of wilfull failer and desertion, *Coordinata supplent*, and it is their duty so to do; subordinate indeed are onely subservient, and they ought all to be subservient, when necessity shall require the *Coordinata* to supply the defect of that estate, which doth wilfully desert its trust and duty; to the unavoidable damage of the Kingdom otherwise. I have been willing upon this occasion to insist a little upon this particular, of the two Houses of Parliament taking up of Arms, not onely to state the cause and quarrel aright, that the people might not by this Pamphletter, and those who set him on work, be abused, and misled into mistakes of it, as afterwards you shall see he indeavours, but also that I might open and clear to others (who are strangers to our affairs and proceedings, in these late unhappy Wars, and its probable to the Government of this Kingdom in the right & true constitution of it) the necessity that the Houses of Parliament had to do it, and the Justice that there was in that which they did; least being deceived by the Court party, & such Remonstrances and Declarations as have been set forth to that end, they may misjudge the Houses of Parliament, and think they rose up disobediently against Authority, when they maintained and defended the lawfull Authority of this Kingdom against violence and manifest oppression, by which otherwise it had been subverted: strangers of other Nations, ignorant of this Government, may easily be led into such an errour, and therefore I thought it my part and duty, to take this occasion to vindicate the honour, integrity and justice of the two Houses of Parliament in

that

that action, at that time, and upon that occaſion done by them: what hath been done by others ſince without them, yea againſt them, can with no juſtice be imputed to them.

The man, before he was aware, ſtates the quarrel right, the King makes open War, with intent to deſtroy the Parliament, they are forced to take up Arms to defend and preſerve themſelves, and in them the *Engliſh* Government from being deſtroyed; and what they took up Arms for, that they called their brethren of *Scotland* to aſſiſt them in: I believe this Zelot will finde ſome of his ends contained in the Covenant, as he would have it believed, and ſo often therefore inculcates it, wanting in thus ſtating the quarrel; he would have that, which he calls *the Reformation of Religion*, the thing we fight for, and therefore batters the peoples ears, almoſt in every leaf, *with ſtanding for the cauſe of God, the ſervice of the Church, the ends contained in the Covenant, promoting the cauſe of the Church*, and ſuch like; but what is all this in his intention? Nothing elſe but the caſting out of Biſhops, and ſetting up in *England* the Government of the Church of *Scotland*; this with him is Religion from top to toe, head to foot, whereas were it what it ought to be, and what they would have it believed to be, it is ſo far from that, that it is but the ſhell to the kernel, the utmoſt mound Wall to the Temple, the Pins to the Tabernacle. Could he ſay, and make it good, the Kings deſign was, to make open War to alter the Laws eſtabliſhed concerning Religion here in *England*, and by force to bring in Popery againſt Law, he might well make it a part of the quarrel, and think and ſay, we ought to defend Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, againſt idolatry, by oppoſing force to force (I mean the two Houſes of Parliament, and ſo would alwayes be underſtood in this caſe of taking up of Arms in defence of the Laws, and oppoſing force with force, not of private men when I ſay *we*) but men will eaſily perceive, except they be ſome of thoſe, you ſo often call *your ſimpler ſort*, how great a difference there is between fighting to maintain the Laws and true Religion eſtabliſhed by them againſt idolatry; and fighting againſt Law to overthrow one Government thereby eſtabliſhed, and ſet up another in the Church, which hath no Law for it; when true Religion may ſtand, though both thoſe ſhould fall; neither the one, as you have framed it, and uſe it, no more than the other, being better than a meer humane policie. You, and thoſe who ſet you on work, ſhall give us leave to ſtate our own cauſe; in aſſiſting us you muſt take up what we avow; if you have any thing elſe of your own to promote, you may be left to abound in your own ſence, and do it in your own Kingdom, and anſwer therein your own conſciences: but *you often urge, we are bound to make good the ends contained in the Covenant, and that your Nation would not ingage, untill that Covenant was framed, and entered into*; and from hence you would infer, that *Reformation of Church-Government, according to* that ſence you put upon *the Covenant*, to ſerve your turn, *is that we are bound to contend and fight for*: you are out of the way, a thing uſual with you; we do acknowledge the entering into a Covenant was propoſed, for that muſt not be wanting with you when you undertake things of this nature, and to give you ſatisfaction it was agreed unto by us, and laſtly framed here in *England*, but with theſe limitations purpoſely (*according to our place and calling*:) we would have you prove, that we are in our place, when we are in Arms, to force the alteration of Laws already made, or the making of new; or ſhew us what calling we have to take up Arms, having

no other cauſe but this alone for it: it is true, as hath been proved, that we have juſt cauſe to take up Arms to defend the Government and Laws of the Kingdom, and our ſelves in the defence thereof, from violence, Arms being taken up firſt, as you affirme, to deſtroy us: the Reformation of theſe abuſes in the Church, and preventing the diſturbance of peace in the Civil Government, occaſioned thereby, through the never failing pride and ambition of the Clergy, falls into our hands in a providential way of Gods ordering things for the good of Church and ſtate, which price, as God hath put it into our hands, ſo ſhall we not want a heart to improve it by all good wayes and lawfull means (that, we call, *according to our place and calling*) for the extirpating of Hierachical Epiſcopacy, and Reformation of Religion according to the word of God, and the example of the beſt Reformed Churches (*eſpecially that of* Scotland.) (This is your addition to the Covenant, there being no ſuch word in it, we finde your ſkill in Addition and Subſtraction when it ſerves for your turn, all your Pamphlet over, wherein you ſhew little pitty, or ſkill therein) ſo far as theſe Reformed Churches make the word of God their pattern and example; *follow me*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *as you ſee me follow Chriſt*: otherwiſe we have nothing to do with your example, or theirs: we ſhall alſo keep to our Covenant *for the exturpating of all Sects, Schiſms and Hereſies, according to the word of God*; which as it was particularly explained at the debate that was at the framing of the Covenant, is to be underſtood, not onely in reſpect of the errours themſelves, which are to be tried and examined by the word of God, but of the proceedings to be had with thoſe perſons, who ſhall be found to hold ſuch errours, which proceedings alſo muſt be according to the rules of the word of God; not preſently to call for fire to come down from Heaven and conſume them, this fiery Zeal from the fleſh, not from the Altar, this will pull up Whear, inſtead of Tares; but what the Spirit of Chriſt (for theſe men know not of what Spirit they are) doth in his word direct to be done with ſuch perſons as being corrupted in judgement, indeavour to corrupt others, and diſturb the peace of the Church and of the ſtate (for that will unavoydably follow) and cauſe rents and diviſions in both; we according to theſe rules, ſhall keep to our Covenant in dealing with ſuch, as faithfully and ſincerely as any hot head of them all. Thus much upon this occaſion, for ſtating the quarrel, aright, before we follow the man in his ſtory of carrying on this quarrel which was taken up againſt us, and hath been proſecuted with ſo much violence, practiſe and falſhood of all kindes; we would not have the people abuſed and drawn into a miſtake in that point, what it was, we took up Arms for, and do juſtifie, we may and muſt fight for, by his continual pratling of *the holy League and Covenant*, as if all things contained therein were the ground, and had been the cauſe of this quarrel; we ſhall not fight I think if whoring, ſwearing, juggling, falſe dealing, drunkenneſs, and other abominable prophane practiſes open and ſecret be not reformed in our lives and converſations; and yet we are as much bound by the Covenant to do this, and ſee it done, as to reform thoſe things this Pamphleter cries out ſo much for, and doth ſo frequently buze into the peoples ears: I would it might pleaſe God to work mens hearts to a through repentance for theſe, you ſhould not need then to trouble your ſelf much for the other you are ſo zealous againſt, for they would quickly fall away of themſelves, being the juſt judgements and puniſhments ſent of God for the forenamed abominations, *he ſends upon men ſtrong deluſions becauſe they receive not the truth in the love thereof,*

but

but delight in unrighteouſneſs; they *have a ſhew of godlineſs*, but in their lives and converſations with men, *they denie the power of it:* This makes ſome run into abominable errors on the one hand, and others turn bloudie perſecutors on the other hand, both receiving the juſt reward of their hypociſie.

But before I paſs on further I will aſk you one queſtion, and it is this, by what rule ſhall we know them, whom you call by the name of *Independents*, *Sectaries*, *Schiſmaticks*, *and Hereticks*, againſt whom you would have the people believe your bow is bent, and your arrows ſharpened; and the perſecution of whom is, with you, the cauſe of God, and the end contained in your Covenant? I ſuppoſe you will not ſay thoſe who in Doctrine and Diſcipline refuſe to conform to what you and yours have ſet up in your fancies, and call the Cauſe of God, and the good work in hand, the ſettling of the Church and ſuch like? this were too groſs; I expect, if you be urged, you will rather ſay, you mean ſuch as refuſe to be conformable in Doctrine and Diſcipline to the Word of God; but what it is, that the Word of God doth hold forth concerning theſe, muſt be agreed upon by that Church and State where ſuch men live, whom you would have branded with theſe names; otherwiſe if no Rule be ſet, how can there be a Separation from it? or the word Sectarie, or Heretick imputed to one man more than to another? Now if we examin, when this Pamphleter did write, what it was that was eſtabliſhed here by the State and Church of *England*, it will be found to have been *Epiſcopacie* and the *Service-book*; are not your fierceſt Presbyterians then as great Separiſts, Sectaries, and Schiſmaticks, as Independents? for I hope they will now pretend themſelves to be as oppoſite to theſe, as your greateſt Independents; what ever they were in the Biſhops times, and what they did then, the moſt of them we know well enough; At this time ſince the State hath agreed upon the *Directorie*, and that Government, which they think fit and meet to ſettle here in this Kingdom for the Churches thereof, is there an Independent, nay a Schiſmatick, Sectarie, or Heretick amongſt them all, that will not conform to it as fully as any Preſbyterian, with that *Explanation* and *Reſervation* which the Preſbyterians in plain terms tell the Parliament they will take to themſelves in conforming, and conform no further? they have had the confidence to give in papers, or at leaſt to print and ſpread about papers to this purpoſe, a Copie whereof you ſhall here ſee; and let the ſame libertie be given to Independents or to the worſt of Hereticks (which this Pamphleter and others to the disgrace of the *Engliſh* Churches amongſt forreign Nations, would make the world believe we ſwarm withall) and there is none ſuch amongſt us who will not be as conformable as any of thoſe who by a rigid preſſing of Conformitie to their own wills and fancies, overthrow that unitie in what is the known will of God, which otherwiſe might be carried on in love according to the Apoſtles rule, *Phil.* 2. 1, 2, 3. and 3. 16. notwithſtanding difference of judgement in ſome particulars not deſtructive to the foundation of Chriſtian Religion.

Certain Considerations and Cautions agreed upon by the Ministers of *London*, *Westminster*, and within the *Lines of Communication*, June 19. 1646. according to which they resolve to put the *Presbyterial Government* in execution, upon the Ordinances of PARLIAMENT heretofore published.

WE *Ministers of Christ, residing within the Cities of* London *and* Westminster, *and* Lines of Communication, *having seen and read an Order of the Honorable House of Commons assembled in* PARLIAMENT, *bearing date* June 9. 1646. *Requiring and Injoyning all the Ministers of the Province of* London *forthwith to put in execution the Ordinances concerning Church Government, Hold it requisite humbly and faithfully as in the sight of God to shew our judgements and resolutions about this weightie matter, for the clearing of our Integrities, and preserving our Consciences void of offence both towards God and towards man.*

We have seriously pondered the present state of things; and find our selves, whether we act as is required, or act not, to be in a very great strait. On the one hand, Prelacie, being justly pulled down, and the Church miserably groaning under Disorder & Confusion, many things crie aloud upon us in our places to put Church Government into actual execution; The glory of God, the edification of his Church, the Dutie of our Function, the Ingagement of our solemn Covenant with God, the command of the Civil Magistrate (which so far as we can with a good Conscience, we are resolved and hold it our Dutie to obey,) and the present unspeakable miseries of the Church by woefull Divisions, Blasphemies, Heresies, abominable Looseneß, Libertinism, and Atheism, and the spiritual Ruin of many Congregations through false Teachers, or want of faithfull Pastors for lack of Ordination. On the other hand, upon consideration of all the Ordinances of Parliament *about Church-Government, we find many necessarie things not yet established, and some things wherein our Consciences are not so fully satisfied: And therefore in our beginning to act, we cannot but foresee, how likely we are to be sinisterly interpreted by many, who are prone to misconstrue all our actions of this nature. We thereupon hold it necessarie to expreß upon what Grounds we may proceed, to act upon the Ordinances alreadie established by Authoritie.*

Although we conceive the power of Church-censures, and in particular the keeping off Ignorant and Scandalous persons from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, to be in Church-Officers by the Will and Appointment of Jesus Christ, and from him they receive their Office and Authoritie: Yet we acknowledge, it belongs to the Magistrate to have his Conscience satisfied in the truth of that Government of the Church which he will set up by his Authoritie, from whom the Church Officers do receive Authoritie of the publick exercise of their Offices in his Dominions. And in case the Magistrate be not so fully informed, as to set up a right and perfect Rule in every particular, the Church Officers may yet act under that Rule; Provided, that they do not subscribe to, or otherwise acknowledge that Rule to be intire and right in all points.

And therefore for these particular Ordinances, although we humbly conceive that they do not hold forth a compleat Rule, nor are in all points satisfactorie to our Consciences: Yet because we find many things established in them, agreeable to the Word of God (for which we desire heartily to bleß God, and to be thankfull to the Honorable Houses,) Provision being made for inabling the Elderships by their Authoritie, to keep

away

away from the Lords Supper all Ignorant perſons, and many Scandalous perſons, with a Declaration of their Reſolution, that all Notorious and Scandalous Offenders ſhall be kept from the Sacrament, and that there ſhall be a further addition to the Scandalous offences formerly enumerated; we conceive it is our dutie to begin to act in reference to Church-Government by Congregational, Claſsical, Provincial, and National Aſſemblies; Reſolving by the Grace of God to walk in all things according to the Rule of the Word, and according to theſe Ordinances ſo far as we conceive them correſpondent to it; *and to be accountable to the Magiſtrate whenſoever he ſhall call us thereunto; Hoping ſo to carry our ſelves, as not onely to injoy his concurrence with us on all occaſions; but alſo that he will ſupply what is lacking to make the Government intire, and likewiſe make alterations in all things that ſhall appear to be amiſs. And in thus doing, we truſt we ſhall not grieve the ſpirits of the truly godly either at home or abroad; nor give any juſt occaſion to them that are contrarie minded, to blame our proceedings.*

Thus much that I may trouble my ſelf the leſs hereafter with theſe names which, *ad faciendum Populum* as your manner is, you ſtuff almoſt everie page withall; now to *your long tale*, the Fox hath left ſuch a ſcent behind him as he goeth along, that many have come out and barked at him, but were afraid to come too near, cloſe up to him for fear of being bitten; where any have diſcovered him, I may ſave a labour, and endeavour to find him out in his other jugling ways; he tels us firſt of the *ſending of a Commiſſioner to move the King and Parliament to extirpate Biſhops out of the Church, as they had caſt them out from Civil Government*; this tale is told to make way for the aſperſing of the Parliament, by telling what the King anſwered the Commiſſioner concerning the Parliaments favouring of Schiſmes and Sectaries; and that this was the end, you may ſee by the addition of his judgement therein; belike the Parliament was too favourable to you and your partie, for as I have ſaid before, Independents can be no more ſaid here to be Sectaries and differ from the Rule eſtabliſhed, than you and your partie: But I will add this, that neither Independent (againſt whom your ſtomach riſeth) nor any other, nay put them altogether, have made ſuch rents, diviſions and diſtractions amongſt us, as you and your partie have done and ſtill are endeavouring to do, by Pamphlets, Papers, Emiſſaries, ſpread and ſent among the people to poyſon their affections by Manifeſt Lyes, under the name of *Truths Manifeſt*, witneſs this lying Pamphlet, and *Cranford* with his notorious lyes, ſent by Mr. *Bailyes* a *Scotch* Miniſter: and Commiſſioner to publiſh the ſame upon the *Exchange*, and all this to alienate the people from the Parliament, which is to ſtir them up againſt Government, and cauſe them to deſpiſe lawfull Authority and dominion, and to murmur againſt, and ſpeak evil of dignities; this as you continually do your ſelves, ſo by theſe means you plot and contrive to excite the people to do the ſame: take heed God in juſt judgement do not give you up for this, to be found alſo thoſe *filthy dreamers that defile the fleſh*. In the next place *when things were grown to great height between the King and Parliament*, he ſaith, *the Scots ſent Commiſſioners to intermediate between them, and complaineth that the Court rulers and Malignants ſpewed abroad reports* (its his phraſe though none be more ſubject to the diſeaſe than himſelf) *that this was diſhonourable to the Engliſh Nation, for them being Subjects, to come with their intermiſe between*

tween the King and Parliament, the simpler sort he saith, *are taken with it*, for all are simple with him that are not as fooliſh as himſelf, and were he wiſer than he is, he would think as the Parliament hath reſolved, that neither Subjects of another Kingdom, no nor any forreign ſtates were fit to be uſed in this difference; but the two Houſes of Parliament being the great Councell of the Kingdom, as repreſenting the whole body thereof, are to offer to the King, that which they, who onely are concerned, do conceive to be fit, for the good and ſafety thereof, the preſervation of the Laws, and their juſt Rights and Liberties; which having done, their counſel is therein to be hearkened unto, none other having right, or intereſt to intermeddle; neither ſhould their mediation need to move the King to hearken unto the great Council of his Kingdome in things concerning the good thereof, nor ought any ſuch thing to be admitted by that great Council to their prejudice, who have intruſted them, and whom they repreſent.

Now we have him entering upon the ſtage (for a very ſtage play) for poſterity to read and be abuſed by, he makes of it) and that the turn and Caraſtrophe in our affairs may be made more eminent and remarkable, the whole glorie whereof he intends to beſtow upon his Countrey-men (for that alone is his deſign throughout his whole Pamphlet) we forſooth muſt be reduced into a condition of utter deſpair, as if there were no hope left for us, but the incoming of the *Scots* to be our Saviours; and the man here falls to his politick obſervations very gravely, telling us, that *the Parliament did well and wiſely, to trie what they could do themſelves, for what need a man call to his Neighbours for help, when he can do his buſineſs himſelf; but yet* he ſaith, *thoſe, who dive more deeply into things of this nature, do hold it dangerous, to ſtay till things be too low, before you call for help*: what depth is in this? ſuch belike as the Parliament could not farthom, but you found it out in *Lillies* politicks which you are verſed in; this poor paſſage, in which there is nothing that every Idiot will not ſay, ſerves yet for your ſtage play, which ſince you will needs turn your ſtory into, you and others, who ſet you on work, and ſeek to make your advantages of ſuch fictions, muſt and ſhall be content to hear truth, which will altogether ſpoil your play; and that is, that if God, by his bleſſing alone and good providence, had not inabled us ſo to overcome our own difficulties, in caſting our Enemies upon ſieges to break their own ſtrength, and give us thereby time to recover a blow we had received, and the ſickneſs that weakned our other Army, whereby we were able not onely to defend our ſelves, but ſend you help to bring you into our aſſiſtance; you had ſtuck in the very birth, and in all probality never been delivered from the Lord of *New-Caſtles* Armies, and the Countrey Forces joyned with him, but by returning the way you came, into your own Kingdom; and this kind of Cataſtrophe would have ſuted very ill to your deſign, and ſpoiled all your play, made to magnifie the *Scots* and their Army: In the South we had beaten the Kings Forces at *Newberry*, and poſſeſſed our ſelves of *Reading*, which we might have kept, and followed the victory to the ſcattering of all the Kings Forces, that kept the Fields, if a Committee ſent from Parliament, whereof the Sollicitor St. *Johns* was one, and Alderman *Foulk* and others ſent from the Citie purpoſely to offer the ſtaying of the Citie Forces to that end, could have prevailed with the General to ſtay in *Reading* and follow his advantages, which never was done, witneſs *Edge hill* buſineſs; but nothing would be hearkened unto, but taking up winter quarters in *Windſor*; however we were in no loſt condition when the

the King was beaten out of the Field, and we Maſters of it. In the North the Lord *Manchester* and *Cromwell* had beaten and routed all *New-Caſtles* horſes, not far from *Horn-Caſtle*, and for his Foot, he had broken them againſt *Hull*, from whence he was driven, when he had wearied and waſted that part of his Army: all this time, while we are recovering our loſſes by our own Forces, ſo that we had brought our affairs into that condition that we have three Armies on Foot (the Generals, the Lord *Manchesters* and Sr. *William Wallers*) where, in the play, ſhall we finde our deliverers in the time of deſpair? what are they doing? in the tyring houſe all this while; yea, not ſtirring a foot, untill the conditions be made to their own content and advantage (at which they are good and too hard for us) and herein ſo much time is ſpent in ſending Commiſſioners from one Kingdom to the other forwards and backwards, untill their own demands are yielded them, that the Lord of *New-Caſtle* had thereby time and means to recruit himſelf, and raiſe ſuch a ſtrength in thoſe Northern parts, where the people abhorred to hear of the coming in of the *Scots*, that, as I have ſaid, had not we been able to deliver them from him, which was our chief care at that time, both by my Lord *Fairfax* preſſing him behinde, and by cauſing the Lord *Manchesters* Army to be drawn down that way, our deliverers had certainly left us to ſhift for our ſelves, and the Gentleman had been deprived of a pretence to make the ſubject of his ſtage-play, and ſet forth the Champions, he makes of his Countrey-men, in the following fictions and fables he tells; with which main deſign, the better to garniſh it forth, there are mixed many fooliſh things not worth taking notice of, onely their *Zeal for Church-Government* muſt not be forgotten, that he makes the condition, *ſine qua non*; and *to that end*, he ſaith, *they muſt have a Covenant*: we have by experience found the ends of that Covenant, and uſes made of it; ſome pieces of it are twiſted as ſtrong as Cables, while other parts of it are made like *Sampſons* Coards by the ſame perſons; this is to mock that God, who in the end will make it appear, he is not mocked, neither can any miſt be caſt before his eyes: to conclude this, let no man be abuſed by this ſtage player, that acts his part in all this Pamphlet (a ſtage-players proper name is a Hypocrite, he doth *Perſonam agere*) nor be made believe we were in a deſperate condition, and that made us ſend to call for help from the *Scots*, the thing is altogether falſe. They have lately in their Paper practiſes ſet forth ſome ſpeeches, which they intitle *ſpeeches of Independents, ſpoken at the Guild-Hall in London*, at that time when the Citie was made acquainted with the reaſons and motives, the Parliament had to deſire a conjunction with their brethren of *Scotland* in this cauſe, and call them into their aſſiſtance; amongſt theſe ſpeeches, there is one of the Sollicitor Sr. *Johns*, which is the largeſt, and containeth the reaſons which are of the greateſt weight; is there a word there of our loſt and deſperate condition, or any thing that looks that way? that which he urged for it, and inſiſted upon was this, *that though we might ſettle our affairs our ſelves, yet nothing could conduce ſo much to the ſecurity of both Kingdoms for future times, in what ſhould be ſettled, and would ſo well maintain their juſt Rights and Liberties which they contended for, as to unite themſelves together in the ſettlement thereof, which conſequently would unite them in maintaining the ſame being ſettled, that one Kingdom might never be made the inſtrument to inſlave the other, reſerving for themſelves thereby no other priviledge but to be the latter in ſlavery*: This one reaſon was that indeed which could onely bear weight in

in the ſcales, againſt many which might have been urged on the other ſide; and although things now through Gods bleſſing are ſo ſettled, as that the Forces raiſed againſt the Parliament are broken, which might have been done without calling in the *Scots*; onely, as he then ſpake, their calling in would render it more certain; yet if we ſhall fail of that, which was the onely end, for which we had cauſe to deſire their incoming, and bear thoſe incoveniences which were ſure to accompany the ſame, much more if in the winding up of all, we ſhould fall into a quarrel; certainly much better had it been for us, to have ſaved our charges, avoided our burthens, & truſted God with the juſtice of our cauſe in the uſe of our own Forces, which in humane reaſon were ſufficient: But let us hope, our brethren, were it onely in conſideration of their own good, being as they will finde, as much concerned in this, as our ſelves, will prove both wiſe and faithfull, in keeping firmly that Union between the Kingdoms, which may *parva tueri*, and cut off all occaſions from Kings in future times, to make their Kingdoms and themſelves miſerable, in daſhing them one againſt another; ſtriving to recover into their hands, their former incroachments upon the juſt Rights and Liberties of their Subjects, and to ſet up the ambitious Clergie again, as fit inſtruments to be made uſe of for ſuch deſigns: they may remember what was done, in King *James* his time, in *Scotland*, the ſtorie is late, and freſh in memory, ſolemne Covenants did not avail then to keep the ambitious Clergy men from complying with the King (when he had gotten power into his hands) to ſet up Epiſcopacy again, and ſubject the Preſbyteries unto thoſe Biſhops he reſtored; there were found enough amongſt your zealous Covenanters, who renouncing their Covenant, not onely yielded to power, but became the inſtruments of that power, and ſo ſubſervient unto it, that taking Biſhopricks readily, they as eagerly perſecuted their brethren, who oppoſed the ſame: let this late experience teach us and our brethren, to keep our ſelves united, to keep power in our hands, untill things be well ſettled, and not prove ſo void of underſtanding and mad, as to think we cannot make haſt enough to diveſt our ſelves of all forces, which being done before any thing ſettled, will as ſpeedily and certainly reinveſt the King with all: this is the deſign now vigorouſly driven on, and ſuch an infatuation is befallen us, that the Court-party have the cunning, and of late the boldneſs, to drive us on therein, and make us draw in the ſame yoak with them, advancing the Kings prerogative and pleading for the ſame, as was done at the conference about the Propoſitions, by the *Scots* Commiſſioners in ſuch a manner, as was moſt ſtrange for them to do in another Kingdom, whether they were ſent, not to direct, what we ſhould demand for our ſafety, and the ſecurity of our Government, but to aſſiſt us in the obtaining thereof, which, what it is, in the right conſtitution of it, the Parliament, not they were to be Judges and determine: This to their conviction and condemnation, in acting with us in ſuch a manner, was made apparent by themſelves, when they expected and demanded of us, that we ſhould inſiſt upon for them in their own Kingdom, not what we ſhould think fit for the King to grant them, but that he ſhould grant unto them a confirmation of all that the Eſtates of that Kingdom had reſolved upon and paſſed already, and not that alone, but what they ſhould agree upon and paſs, as Acts hereafter; a Propoſition of a large extent for thoſe, who at the ſame time would take upon them, to limit and direct us in our demands. But I have before obſerved this ſtrange proceeding of

theirs,

theirs, and indeed hardly could there be a ſtranger, or more unreaſonable in ſuch a caſe, as they handled it.

The man means not to be thus turned off the ſtage, no, he will inſtance in particulars, *the North* he ſaith *was all loſt but* Hull, *the Weſt alſo almoſt altogether gone by the loſs of* Exceter, *the defeat at the* Devizes, *and the baſe ſurrender of* Briſtol *and* Banbury: by giving it this Epithite, and placing his Emphaſis there, you may know the Gentlemans diſeaſe, he is ſick of the overflowing of the Gaul, and therefore takes a Pill of Preſbyterian Spleen (otherwiſe called Zeal by them) to eaſe his ſtomack, and up comes all, though never ſo falſe; this ingredient is ſo quick and ſtrong in working, that it will turn the ſtomack many times, the more is the pitie, though it be in the Pulpit. I write it not to diſgrace thoſe men who are for Presbytery in their judgements, many of whom I love and reverence as Godly men; but to bring ſuch of them, whoſe apparent known malice, envy, and uncharitableneſs, together with a buſie and pragmatical exerciſe of theſe vices, they uſe to cover over with this pretence and title of Zeal for the cauſe of God, to ſee, and repent for that ſcandal, they hereby caſt upon the Goſpel and the profeſſion thereof in the eyes of prophane men, as may be ſeen in this man throughout this whole Paper project of his, which is compiled to ſlander, and traduce moſt falſly well deſerving men, wherein no difference of times, or diſtance of place ſtops the operation of his ſpleen and malice, as we may here obſerve, Eaſt ſhall rather be made Weſt; for what hath *Banbury* to do with the loſs of the Weſt, or the ſurrender of that (had any ſuch thing been) with the ſurrender of *Briſtol* either in time, or place? But that he might vomit up that poyſonfull humour (which as appears all along his ſtomack is full of) upon thoſe who did more, and ſuffered more for his Countrey-men in the beginning of their troubles, than all thoſe whom he flatters, fawns upon, and gives titles to; yea, at that time when ſome of thoſe were in Arms againſt them: this groſs lie is dragged in, and tied together with the reſt, as we uſe to ſay with points. We hear him often talking of an ingagement by Covenant, he might remember who it was that ſtopped a general ingagement of this whole Kingdom by an Oath, framed and tendered to that purpoſe at *York* againſt the *Scottiſh* Nation, when they were firſt to have been invaded. He knows not, it may be, in the broken Parliament when the King indeavoured more to ingage the Parliament to aſſiſt him againſt the *Scots* (whom he then ſtiled Rebels) by the grant of mony to that end, then to get the mony, the Gentleman whom he here ſpits his venom at, though but a young Parliament man then, was the firſt that made that motion, *That if any mony were granted, it ſhould be with a Declaration of Parliament, that they would not have it imployed againſt their brethren of* Scotland; which being approved of by the Houſe, the King hearing of their intention to make ſuch a Declaration, choſe rather to break up the Parliament and be without the mony, than have the giving of it ſo accompanied: gratitude doth not grow in the Gardens and grounds of theſe men: *Omnia dixeris cum Ingratum dixeris.*

But leave we him and his companions to be like themſelves, and ſince this Gentleman, in all the railings and lies that have been maliciouſly ſpread up and down againſt him, hath been ſilent, and committed the judgement to him who judgeth righteouſly; yea, ſince the time that God and man hath juſtified him upon a providence from Heaven, pointing as it were, and as it hath been by

men obſerved, at his vindication by ſuiting all circumſtances thereunto in the late regaining of *Briſtol*; and withall working at the ſame inſtant in the hearts of men to take that hint, and unanimouſly upon the occaſion, to add their approbation, the whole Houſe of Commons, with expreſſion of much ſatisfaction, requiring his preſence and attendance there: he notwithſtanding, though ſtill provoked by theſe malicious and envious Spirits (who by his clearing are the more vexed) as a man riſen out of the grave, who hath forgotten all that is paſt, both in reſpect of perſons, and things by them done ſo falſly againſt him, hath not ſhewed the leaſt deſire of revenge, but continueth his patience, ſatisfying himſelf in the conſcience of his own integrity; ſince I ſay ſo much patience, with ſo much evidence of integritie and innocencie in this caſe will not ſtop the mouth of envie and malice; I will not be ſilent, nor wanting to the truth which I know, but bear witneſs hereby unto it, which I think I am bound to do, that lyes may not be tranſmitted to poſteritie by ſuch malicious ſpirits in their Pamphlets, as in this, and ſome others; which one of the Authors, that his malice and bloud-thirſtineſs might be known to poſteritie, hath bound up with other of his invective Works, for ſuch uſually are all his writings on which ſide ſoever he takes, and when he changeth ſides, and if we may believe *John Lilburn*, whom he ill required, his leaves uſe to be almoſt as full of lyes as lines, & if in any they will be found to be ſo, I am ſure moſt of all in this: his own ſilence amidſt theſe baſe ſlanders, gives me the more juſt cauſe to make that which I know to be true, appear to the world in this caſe.

At firſt when that Town was loſt, and the crie came up, according to the bitterneſs of mens ſpirits, who had ſuſtained loſs in their private eſtates, no great mervail if in the preſent Diſtemper men were violently tranſported by their paſſions againſt Reaſon and Truth; and *David*, though never ſo innocent, muſt be ſtoned, becauſe *Ziglag* was taken and burned: the crie of the multitude, who uſe to judge of all things by ſucceſs, and ſo are hurried on without any further conſideration, might cauſe ſome men then to believe that for truth, and act thoſe things thereupon, which were it now to do, when the duſt is laid, and things appear fully as they were, happily would be far from either thinking as then they did, or doing what was done: but for men now againſt that light and evidence of truth, which convinceth every man that was upon the place, and ſaw it retaken, and all others who give credit to their reports; yea even againſt their own reaſon, when they hear men relate to them, what it was when they now recovered it, in comparriſon to what it then was when he ſurrendered it, what was done at both times in the defence of it, and what difference there was in the means for the doing thereof: Now, I ſay, after all this, to ſnarl and bite ſtill, is without excuſe; and it ſheweth thoſe who do it, to be mad with envie, a vice moſt provoked when truth and innocencie is moſt cleared. Let us examin that which theſe men caſt up out of their foul mouthes: *Briſtol* and *Banbury* were baſely ſurrendered; well coupled together, not for your ſtorie, but for your ſtomach-ſake; the foolerie and falſhood of that concerning *Banbury* we ſhall ſhew afterwards: To that of *Briſtol*, in the firſt place let us obſerve the impartialitie of this braggadochio, who vants himſelf of nothing more than that in the beginning: belike there hath been no Town in the North, nor Forces in the Weſt baſely deſerted, when neither were reduced to extremities, but *Briſtol*; if there had, this mans impartialitie could not have paſſed them by in ſilence: O but you muſt know the man

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is blind, ſtark blind on the one ſide, and therefore had this Gentleman gone into a Boat, and left the Town to ſhift for it ſelf without defending of it at all, or making any conditions for it, when all the ſtrength of his Garriſon was broken at the *Devizes*, being left by Sir *William Waller* and his horſe, who run away, while they ſtood firm together in a bodie, being 2000 Foot, a long time after, and thereupon, every man leaving him in *Briſtol* for loſt (as Mr. *John Aſh* firſt teſtified by his Letter to the Council of War, and after before them upon Oath, having himſelf at the time been an eye witneſs of what he depoſed) ſurely he had done very worthily, and no way baſely; provided he would afterwards (whatever he had done before) have complied fully with the partie who went according to the ends contained in the ſolemn League and Covenant, which what it means we cannot be ignorant of: but ſince he was not of that baſe temper, to make a Covenant a pretence to hold up a Faction, and drive on a Deſign, it muſt be baſely done in him, to hold a Town of 4 miles line in Circuit, a ſtorm ſo long, that 1200 of the Enemies men were killed, 40 Officers, 4 Colonels, and ſome chief Gentlemen of *Cornwall*, when he had (except ſome raw men ſuddenly taken up and armed) but 700 of his Garriſon left, 7000 being few enough to keep that place, for 5 days was all the time he had, before nos onely that Army which beat our Forces at the *Devizes*, and there brake the ſtrength of his Garriſon, but Prince *Rupert*, with forces from *Oxford*, joyned with them, came up to beſiege him, preſently, upon the diſcouragement that our flying Forces brought into the Citie; he had not ſo much powder left as had been ſpent in the time they ſtormed, wherein the Enemie was often beat off with ſo much loſs; for Sir *William Waller* and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* were ſo ill provided of Ammunition for their Armie, that he was neceſſitated to ſupply them out of his Stores therewith, as well as with 1200 of his beſt Souldiers, which they both earneſtly preſſing him to do, when they wrote unto him for it, uſed this Argument, That if they were beaten in the Field, it was in vain for him to think he could defend the Citie though all his Garriſon remained with him, this was their ſence and writing then, however they carried themſelves afterwards; and his Council of War being called, to whom he put that very queſtion, reſolved the ſame, where were preſent many Gentlemen of the Countrey and Townſmen, and this he did before he would ſend out a man; yet to defend the place being left in ſuch a condition, even after the Line was entered, and the Suburbs poſſeſſed, until he had made as good or better conditions, both for the Souldiers, Townſmen, and Gentlemen in the Town, who were friends to the Parliament, than Prince *Rupert* did when he ſurrendered it again: This is the buſineſs which this pedantical fellow aſperſeth him withall; the malicious falſhood whereof will more appear by the conſideration of that difference that there was when the place was ſurrendered the firſt, and ſecond time; which in reſpect of the Fortifications (a Royal Fort being added) was much ſtronger than that Town could be made, whereas before it had onely an old rotten Caſtle, as Mr. *Hodges* teſtified, not able to bear the diſcharging of the Ordinances that were upon it, and which, as *Cromwel* ſaid, he would lay his life was not tenable 24 hours after the Line entered: In reſpect of the works, at firſt it was rather an intrenchment haſtily caſt up about the Town, and that not finiſhed for want of time, but where the Line was entered, left unperfected, than a Fortification that ſuch a place required, but when Retaken, made as ſtrong as that place could be made to make it tenable; the Works then

made so high, as may appear by the Letters sent to the House, that Ladders of 30 rounds were too short to scale them: In respect of Souldiers, both Horse and Foot to man it, and of all Ammunition and Provisions no want, nor of able Commanders under Prince *Rupert*, as *Tilliers* and many others the best the King had: and lastly, in respect of assurance to be relieved, which the King promised Prince *Rupert*; but the General to this Gentleman gave assurance, he neither could relieve him for the present, nor did think he ever should be able to do it, which latter part he inserted in the letter with his own hand: All these things being well known, even to the slanderers and lyers themselves, yet they persist still to do the devils work. But that it may appear to the world how basely indeed and unworthily this Gentleman was dealt withall in this business, I will open some of the carriages of this mysterie of iniquitie, which I have learned, all of them I believe are not known but to themselves, & kept amongst themselves, who were the prosecutors and actors therein: I shall therefore desire the reader in the first place to take notice of a falshood continually obtruded, when the malice of these men spits out their venom against this Gentleman upon this subject, and that is, *that he was called in question for it at a Council of War*, this to men who know not the carriage of this business for the present, much more will it do so to posteritie hereafter (to whom they desire to transmit this slander, knowing that they are likely to be ignorant of what now justifieth him) holdeth forth as if the General, or Parliament were so unsatisfied with his rendition of that place upon the terms it was yielded, that they called him in question for it, & put him upon trial by that Council of War, which had the will to condemn him; whereas the truth is, when he gave an account of it first to the Committee of Safetie, when he came up, afterwards to the Parliament, then to the General, they all rested satisfied in it: onely he himself, out of the knowledge of his own integritie in that action, and that he had done what could be done by a man left in that condition, not able to bear the bawlings of some men who had suffered loss, and the malice of others, who running away themselves, were as readie as any to cast blame upon him to hide their own shame, and therefore joyned with those who spake and wrote to his disgrace, though contrarie to their own knowledge and hand writing formerly, as was made appear at the Trials he, I say, upon this, indiscreetly and unwisely casts himself into the hands of his enemies, gave them the occasion their malice and envie waited for, by not resting to importune the General by himself, and his friends; and having gotten his consent to intreat of the House of Commons (whereof he was a Member) that he might be cleared at a Council of War, whereunto he desired he might be referred, and obtained it onely by his own importunities, so far was it from that which is constantly and most falsely by them affirmed, that he was called in question for it by the General or Parliament, and by them brought to trial at a Council of War: of which Council of War, how they were composed and fitted, and how they acted, have patience to hear a little: When this Gentleman had procured by his endeavours for his vindication to have a Council of War to hear this business, the two *Hothams*, Father and Son having friends near the General that could do much with him, they moved the General and obtained it, that Summons might be sent to the *Hothams*, Father and Son to be tried at the same time, and a Council of War was fitted for that purpose; now though in the General, and in that friend of theirs who put the General upon this, there was not an intention to prejudice

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this Gentleman, but onely to save the *Hothams*; and it is probable, had that design taken, they had quitted all, hoping the clearnes of this case might have made the other pass with it the more easily; yet in the thing it self there was much to his prejudice, first in reputation, that he should be put (as hereby it would seem to the world) into an equal condition with those whom all know to be guiltie and imprisoned for the same, seeking this Trial onely to escape that which they knew the Parliament would bring them unto, as afterwards they did; Secondly, had this Plot taken and all been acquitted, his acquitting with such companie would have blemished him, and been cried out of notwithstanding his own clearnes; but that failing, the Parliament prohibiting their trial at that time, well enough perceiving the design; the Council of War chosen for their safetie, were men fitted for his ruine, both in their dispositions and affections, many of them toward him and his friends; and the rather now being irritated by failing of their design in respect of the other two; in so much that Sir *William Balfore*, a known able Commander of great experience in the Wars as any, if not before any in these Kingdoms, who not onely cleared him, but said, if it had been in any other Kingdom he would have been so far from being condemned for that service he had done, that he would have been rewarded rather, he knew what belonged to War, and what grounds Counsels of War should go upon in condemning and acquitting (the greater part of the rest it is likely never sat in a Council of War before) he being by his place and appointment of the General to sit President of the Council, coming a quarter, or half an hour later than usual, the Lord *Roberts*, a sure card for that turn, thrust himself into the place of President, being a Souldier of the first head, never knowing what belonged to a Souldier, Commander, or Council of War before these late troubles, which were of one, or two years standing; of the same standing and experience were the most of the rest of this Council of War: This President, having taken the place upon him out of another mans hands that was appointed, to whom by his place in the Army it appertained, begins to order busines according to his experience, admits the inward Barrister of Lincolns Inne, William *Prin* a Lawyer to plead at a Council of War against this Gentleman; a thing I think never before heard of; for matters of fact should there be produced and proved by the testimony of fit witnesses, and the Judge Advocate alone should be made use of in point of Law, or prosecution of the party supposed Delinquent: Nay, this malicious bloud-thirsty man, as sufficiently appeared by his subsequent lying Pamphlets upon this subject, was suffered by this President to plead and rail according to his usual known manner; and to bring for proofs Paper-depositions (never to be admitted, especially in case of life) instead of witnesses *viva voce*, who were capable of being veece examined, and this was suffered for divers dayes together, and in the end upon such proofs, and some Tapsters, Children, and mean persons, and some who before the siege ran away out of the Town themselves as *Walker*, and other Souldiers and Officers who were there accused for not doing their duty at the time, was this predetermined sentence given and grounded. I do not without ground call it *predetermined*, for before ever he was heard to speak in his own defence, or any word spoken against him, a Member of the House of Commons came to him, who was so intimate with this good Council of War, that he knew their intentions, and thereupon advised him not to trust to his innocencie, though he were never so clear, for of his knowledge a major part

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of the Council of War were resolved already to condemne him; an excellent major part of a Council of War, and well prepared for the purpose, as by this you may see: it was indeed carried, but by a major part who were resolved as it seems by this Gentleman, before hand (the Lawyer might have spared his railing, and his declamations of 3 or 4 hours length, till many that heard him fell asleep; the rest, who came not resolved, were satisfied with what they heard and did acquit him thereupon.) I can name the Gentleman, or Knight rather, but without his consent, I will not, least I make his friends who communicated their secrets to him, angry with him for it. Notwithstanding things thus fitted and prepared, when he was heard to speak for himself and the proofs and evidencies produced, which shewed his condition and his carriage therein; *Holburn* and *Ennis*, and another *Scots* Officer who was afterwards killed near *Woodstock*, and who at the time he heard it, detested as he professed to Major *Holms* his Countrey-man, that a deserving Gentleman should be so wronged, these being Souldiers and not of the Caball, began to say that they could not condemn him, and therefore had acquitted him with the rest, but for the practise used by those, who had resolved what they would do in it; and had these fallen off, though they had continued still the major part, yet it would have much blasted the design, they being accounted Souldiers of another degree and standing, than the other whom I need not name: hereupon they saw it necessary to put off the giving of their Judgements in it for a week, which the President did accordingly, in which time the business with these men was wrought about, *Holburn* and *Ennis* were dealt withall, and dyning with the Lord *Robert*, who was President, *Holburn* was heard to say they could not finde any thing that might give a just ground to condemne him for his carriage in that business, to which the Lord *Roberts* replied, they must however condemne him for example sake, this being the first, least others should be incouraged to give up Towns when there was no necessity, and that there would be no danger in it to him, for they were sure the General would pardon him: an excellent piece of Justice, a Gentlemans life and honour must be cast away, who was in no fault, as they themselves knew and confessed, for fear others might commit faults afterwards. The Earle of *Essex* General, was heard also to tell the Lord *Say*, that *Holburn* did say to him, Col. *Fiennes* was in no fault, but because he would not lay it upon his Officers, the Town being lost, he must bear it himself; this I know to be true, for I heard it spoken my self: good Justice still, it seems *Roberts* discourse prevailed. Cannot a Town left in that condition, and without hope of relief, be surrendred upon such conditions as this was, and yet neither Governour nor Officer to blame? or if Officers be to blame, they should be called to account for it; and not a man condemned that they knew had done his duty, and was no way faulty: yet he did at the time accuse some Officers, who refused to obey commands, but it was not *Langrig* whom they aimed at, and would have had him charge. By all this it appears, what difficulties they were put upon, to effect and bring about this business; at last they finde out the Article *of not holding out to the utmost extremity*, to do the feat, for as for treachery they cleared him; for Cowardize they could object nothing; but forsooth he did not hold it out to the utmost extremity, when there were five particulars all concurring in his case and condition, either of which singly of it self, if it can be truly alleadged and sufficiently proved, as in this case all the five were, is to be accounted, and would have been, and were so

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by thoſe who underſtood, the grounds a Council of War ſhould proceed upon, a holding out to utmoſt extreamity, and in which caſes, if a Governour ſhall neglect and omit to make the beſt conditions he can for himſelf and thoſe that are with him, he is worthy to be queſtioned and cenſured for it. Want of Ammunition, want of men to man the Line, and many of thoſe that were, laying down Arms, and deſerting their Colours, ſo that not above five, or ſix in ſome Companies could be gotten together, as the Captains affirmed, and upon promiſe of preſent mony to be given unto them by himſelf, of the 1700 which were all he had, or could in that time of five dayes make up his broken Garriſon unto, he could not get together above ſix-ſcore, when the Line was entered and the Suburbs; again theſe being entered, there was no Intrenchment defencible within; and moſt of all conſiderable, though laſt mentioned, an aſſurance that he could not be relieved, and this from the General himſelf as hath been ſhewed. Now ſo ſoon as they had done this in this unworthy manner, leſt ſome of themſelves might fall into the Net they had contrived to catch this Gentleman in, they think it neceſſary to explain the Articles of holding out to utmoſt extremity, and explain it thus, that if it be proved the Souldiers refuſed to fight, it ſhall be interpreted to be a holding out to the utmoſt extreamity; and this they did preſently after the Trial, though in his caſe it prevailed not, being fully proved by divers witneſſes, eſpecially thoſe Souldiers that were Townſ-men newly raiſed after the loſs of his own Souldiers at the *Devizes*, being ſhop keepers, and fearing the Town would be taken, laid down their Arms and would not be ſeen, nor come to their Colours, but deſerted him: could there be a more manifeſt conviction of themſelves in reſpect of this unjuſt ſentence, than this that was done upon the inſtant by themſelves? But the giving up of *Gainsborough* when ſuccours were at hand; and the quitting of *Lincoln* with all the Ordinance and Ammunition left in it, when no Enemy was in ſight, nor within many miles of it (both by the Lord *Willowby* a Chief man in that Councill of War) where there was neither extreamity, nor nothing like a ſiege, and this being done before, made them make this hole in their Net, ſo ſoon as they had uſed it, to ſerve their preſent turn: for he could onely alleadge for himſelf, as he did, that *his Souldiers told him, they would not fight*, but whether they would be as bad as their words, or no, he reſolved to truſt them, for he never ſtaid to trie them, but left the Town and all that was in it, upon a report of the Enemies being at, or about *Newwark*, many miles from thence; here was *a holding out to the utmoſt extremitie*, by one of the Chief and active Judges in this Council of War; it was time to make an explanation: but, as I have ſaid, how palpable a conviction of themſelves, and this unjuſt practiſe, it was, to do it preſently upon the wrong they had done this Gentleman, let the World judge, eſpecialy when this in particular was ſo fully proved before them in his caſe. If I follow another (who was a Chief Agent and contriver in this buſineſs) into the *Weſt*, I ſhall ſhew, how this unjuſt ſentence, by Gods juſt judgement, followed him, either to condemne him much more juſtly in all mens judgements, or make him condemne himſelf, for giving and drawing others to joyn with him in this unjuſt ſentence upon no ground. When the Army went into the *Weſt* (after the Kings going out of *Oxford*, with ſuch Horſe and mounted Muſketiers, as he could make ready, that he might not be beſieged) the Lord *Roberts* was made Lord Marſhall of the Field, that thereby there might be a reconciliation wrought between him

and the General, for before they were upon no good terms: the Lord *Roberts* is a man of good parts, and he knoweth it, therefore he useth to think his reasons too valid and strong to be contradicted by any, he must bear the sway and rule all, or else he will make a party whereof he will be the head: Friends to them both knowing this, and the General finding it by experience in the Army, they perswade the General to use this expedient to make him his, and draw him off from any other parties; but this being done, the General must so far be at his dispose, as not to contradict him, but be ruled by him: as they marched into the *West*, they understood, the King, with that force of Horse, and mounted Musketiers he had with him, being a very considerable strength, turned into the *West* also, to joyn the Forces he had with him with the Western Army under *Hopton*, which was then the greatest strength he had in *England*, and would be made much stronger by the addition of so many Horse and 2000 mounted Musketiers; upon this advertisement it was debated at a Council of War, whether it were not best for the General with his Army to interpose between these two, and hinder their conjunction before he proceeded farther *Westward*, a thing the King most feared, his Horse being laggered out and tired, and having neither Foot nor Artillery with him, and the Generals Army being a brave Army, fully furnished with all these; it was resolved by the major part of that Council of War, *that it was fit for the Army to fight the Kings Forces*, which they might have done with great advantage, and not suffered them to joyn with the other Army in the *West*, and indeed it stood with all reason so to advise; But the Lord *Roberts*, now Lord Marshal of the Field, was of another opinion, and that must be yielded unto, though the greater number of the Council of War opposed him in it, and advised the former; hereupon the Army was drawn into *Cornwall* with such haste, and so improvidently, that they took not so much care, as to make good the passes behind them, whereby they might safely make their retreat if need were, or have succours and provisions sent them, being drawn into the most Malignant County to them in *England*; and the King hereby also had means without any opposition to joyn all those Forces he brought with him, to his *Western* Army: this gave great discontent to the Army, and caused many to speak very hardly of the Lord *Roberts*, as if he had brought the Army into all that danger, to secure his own Houses, and Lands, that lay there about, and to be a Convoy for Treasure, he had there, being concealed; but this might proceed onely out of their discontent, being exasperated to finde themselves brought into such a pinfold by his means, in prevailing with the General, contrary to what was advised by the greater part of the Council of War: However this was, or what were the motives, all the World knoweth what the issue was, the Army being brought into difficulties for want of provisions, partly by the malignancy of that Countrey, and especially by the great strength of Horse, which the Enemy had by the addition of the Kings Horse to the former Army (which should and might easily have been prevented) whereby they kept the passes, which we might have secured, and thereby kept all provisions from the Army, so that the Horse were not able to subsist for want of provisions and fodder; the Horse first were constrained to break through, the Foot then were drawn into a place of advantage, and there stood upon their defence, every Regiment keeping to his post: while this was doing, the General and the Lord *Roberts*, Lord Marshal of the Field, put themselves into a Boat, and leave the Army, and the Major General of the Army,

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with all the Officers of the Army to ſhift for themſelves, without ſo much as ever acquaintaing them therewith, or giving them the leaſt notice thereof; inſomuch that Major General *Skippon*, Major General of the Army, underſtanding by one of the Officers of the Lord Generals Regiment, that, that Regiment did not keep to their Poſt, as they ſhould, ſaid, *that is ſtrange, that Regiment was not wont to do ſo, why do you not acquaint the General with it?* The Officer replied, *the General is gone, and the Lord Marſhall, away in a Boat: What*, ſaid Major General *Skippon, hathour General left us thus, and never ſo much as acquainted us therewith? Then indeed it is time for us to make conditions for our ſelves*; and he and the Officers had it in conſultation, before they would treat about conditions, to put that down as the ground of their treating, *their Generals deſerting the Army in that manner*, wherein the Lord *Roberts* went along with him, who was the ſpecial occaſion of drawing the Army into that condition: that he was the Authour of that counſel, in ſuch a faſhion to withdraw and leave the Army to ſhift for themſelves (when they were in a poſture to defend themſelves, and refuſed not to fight, but were, as it is known, more hardly drawn to yield to deliver up their Arms, than to uſe them to fight in the defence of themſelves) I will not ſay; but he was companion in the action, being, after the General, the Chief Commander in the Army: neither do I write it, as thinking the man to want courage, for in all other actions during the Wars before, he never ſhewed any want thereof; and that which he did preſently after this, in ſtaying in *Plimouth*, when it was very probable the King, upon the defeat of all our Forces, would attempt to take ſo conſiderable a place, manifeſted courage enough in him, as it was a great means to confirm and ſtrengthen the Townſ-men, to defend the ſame; but I write it, to obſerve a ſpecial providence of God making him by an action, which all knowing Souldiers will judge worthy to be much more condemned in a Chief Officer (as being far from *holding out to utmoſt extreamity*, but rather a deſerting of a whole Army without their knowledge, without making any conditions for them, when they were under his charge) to condemne himſelf for that unjuſt ſentence, which he was the ſpecial actor in, if not the contriver and author of, whereby a Gentleman was condemned, who by the judgement of the beſt Souldier amongſt them, yea, in the Army, or in the Kingdom, Sr. *William Balfore*, was rather thought worthy of commendation and reward, for what he had done, in holding out to that which is to be accounted *utmoſt extreamity*, as I have ſhewed before: yea, the very Enemies themſelves being Judges, as they have often, and divers of them expreſſed themſelves in his caſe, both the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Hawl*, and Colonel *Busbridge* with others. *Thus doth the juſt God often make them, who dig pits for other men, fall into the pit themſelves.* If any man ſhall doubt of the truth of this Relation, or any circumſtance in it, he may ſatisfie himſelf by aſking Major General *Skippon*, an antient experienced able Commander, and withall (which is not uſual) a pious religious man; or he may ſatisfie himſelf if he will aſk any of the Sub-Committee appointed at *Darby* houſe, to examin Major General *Skippon*, Colonel *Barkley*, and other Officers about this buſineſs, Mr. *Pierpoint* and Mr. *St. Johns* the Solicitor (as I take it) being two of them; any of theſe know, that when Major General *Skippon* was aſked whether he ſpake thoſe words above ſpecified, upon hearing the Lord General, and Lord Marſhals being gone in a Boat, he ſaid he did; and that it was very ſtrange to him and the reſt of the Officers to hear that they were gone, it being

demanded of him further, whether they had it not in consultation, to make his leaving of them in such a manner, the reason of their entertaining, or seeking a Treatie about Conditions; he (as he is a very modest man) most humbly desired them not to press him in that particular any further: so the Sub-Committee saw, that as it was left and laid aside by the Officers, out of respect at that time when they had it in consultation, in like manner they desired they might not be pressed further to speak to it then, when they were examined; and there being some friends of the Generals, who were of the Sub-Committee, that moved it might be put on no further, it was passed over both by the Sub-Committee, the Committee, and the House; to which friends of his he hath since made an ill requital, because they were for the new Moulding of the Armie, as they had reasons and although, out of respect to the General, this was for the present passed over, and no further pressed, yet this with other things, then laid the foundation in mens hearts of that resolution, which soon after was put in execution, to new Model the Army, and put the Command into other hands: The Parliament dealt prudently for the present, after the example of the *Roman* Senate, upon the great defeat and loss of their Armie at the Battle of *Cannæ*; for they gave no discouragement, but rather sent to the General being sick at *Portsmouth* to shew him a respect, that thereby they might the better recruit again that broken Armie which he had left, and make the best use of them that remained, against the Kings coming up and following his advantage, which they had cause to expect, and accordingly found to fall out; for he was taught by his experience, in sitting down before *Gloucester*, what advantage he had then lost, and therefore now, would not besiege *Plimouth*, but onely Face it, and so without staying, marched forwards with all speed: it was therefore necessarie for the Houses of Parliament, to make up that broken Army both Horse and foot with what speed they could, and so make the best of a broken business; to which end they wisely, for the present, sent an incouraging visit and message to the General at *Portsmouth*, all being little enough: for if my Lord *Manchesters* Armie under *Cromwel* had not been so near *London*, that they were brought to joyn with the remainder of this broken Armie, so many of them as in so short a time could be recruited; and also with what remained of Sir *William Wallers* Armie, broken likewise by lying still, about *Abington*, out of a meer pet, because the General would not let him go into the West, which was his design, but went thither himself; and had not this been done by that time, the King could advance so far as *Newbury*, that he had been able to march up to *London* without resistance; upon this defeat of our Army in the West, in all probabilitie all had been lost; which had it so fallen out, the true Cause, under God, had been the private spleens, foolish pets, emulations and envie between our Commanders; The onely cause why Sir *William Waller* would follow the King no longer, when he turned Westward, and thereby the Generals Armie lost, and his own also with lying still and doing nothing the while: This was a just cause of putting our forces into a new Model, under another head, and into one hand, as would sufficiently appear, were this miscarriage onely laid open particularly, & in all the passages & circumstances thereof; but to write that storie is not my designe, here I onely touch it thus far by the way; I have made this Digression, and insisted the longer upon it, to make the truth appear, for the clearing of this Gentleman from that dishonor, which was so unjustly, and so unworthily cast upon him, by such a Major part of a Council

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of War, becauſe not onely ſcurrilous Pamphlets, as this and ſome others of like nature (whoſe railing and lying, ſhewing them apparently to be byaſed by their malice, envie, and other baſe falſe ends, every man will deſpiſe) but Mr. *May*, one that pretends to write a Juſt and Full Hiſtorie of the Parliament of *England*, and in his Preface maketh profeſſion of ſo much impartialitie, he likewiſe is drawn (whether by falſe reports and ill information, or being jogged on the Elbow by him that ſet him on work, or ſome of his partie, he himſelf beſt knoweth) to let his pen drop a blot upon the reputation of this Gentleman, and it ſeemeth *Briſtol* is purpoſely brought in, and made mention of in that place, that he might give this daſh with his pen in a parentheſis: I will not ſay, that the partie, by whom he was put upon writing this Hiſtorie, or any of his, plucked him by the ſleeve, while he was writing, and cauſed him to give this blur needleſly, as any man that reads it may eaſily perceive, and therefore it may be thought purpoſely; for I would not in this particular ſay and affirm poſitively, that which I do not certainly know; This I do know, that they were eſtranged, and ill affected at that time to the friends of this Gentleman, who had done them greateſt ſervice to his own prejudice, and that when they were in low eſteem amongſt the people in the Citie, their hatred unto him being onely in reſpect of promoting the new Modelling of the Armie, as I have ſaid before; and who it was that put Mr. *May* upon the writing of his Hiſtorie, I very well know by the Generalls ſpeeches, but I will not make an abſolute judgement upon conjectures: If it were ill information, he might eaſily have had better, had he ſought it, and I ſhall now better inform him, and ſhew him the falſhood of both parts of his parentheſis, not by ſaying alone they are falſe, but by demonſtrating it to be ſo by undeniable proofs, that when he continueth his Hiſtorie, he may reform his error, and not by tranſmitting it to poſteritie, ſuffer it, the further it runs, the more to increaſe that guilt which ever accompanieth wrong doing: he brings in a diſcourſe of the Surrender of *Briſtol* to the Kings Forces without any occaſion, and then draws in his Parentheſis thus (*which was more ſudden than could be feared, and for which afterward the Governor Mr.* Fiennes *was queſtioned & condemned by a Council of War*) for the firſt part, *that it was more ſudden than could be feared*, whereby he would make the world believe, he was too haſtie in Surrendering the place which he might and ought to have kept longer; what hath been ſaid to this alreadie I ſhall not need to repeat; but to the falſhood of it I ſhall ſay, that as the Enemie ſufficiently felt it before it was ſurrendered, by ſuch a loſs, as I my ſelf heard one of them who was there, a Colonel, ſince profeſs, *that when they had it Surrendered, they thought and ſaid amongſt themſelves, they had better been without it, than to have undergone that loſs to obtain it*; and as I remember another of them, Col. *Busbridge*, who affirmed in the hearing of divers Parliament men, Col. *James Temple* being one, *he would maintain it with his ſword, againſt any that ſhould ſay the contrarie, it was as well defended, and they had as ſharp a buſineſs in the Storming of it as he had known, either here in* England, *or in the* Low-Countreys, where he had been a Souldier; he ſaid, *that after the works were entered, and the Suburbs poſſeſſeſſed by them, there was ſuch a Sally made out upon them, that he ſaw 20 Officers brought into ſome houſes, and laid there upon the floors, or tables*: The Enemie did not find ſuch over much haſte made in the Surrendering of the Place, as Mr. *May*, by what he writes, would have men conceive: and that it was *before we feared it or heard of it*, is ſo falſe, that Mr. *John Aſh* depoſed

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at the Council of War, who was there upon the place, *that every one gave him and the Town for loſt, after the running away of the Horſe at the* Devizes, *and the loſs of the ſtrength of his Garriſon there by that means*, which was the loſs of the Town; and Sir *William Waller*, when he went out of *Briſtol* with thoſe Horſe which he had remaining, promiſing and ſaying, *he hoped to bring him aid*, and therefore he was willing he ſhould go, knowing that a few beaten Horſe could do him no good without Foot, but would rather ſpend the Proviſions that were in the Town, than afford him any aſſiſtance, which by going forth they might have procured; for when Sir *William Waller* came near my Lord General, who lay about *Buckingham*, and he about *Banbury*, ſome twelve miles off, he ſent the General word, in what ſad condition Col. *Fiennes* was left at *Briſtol*, and that without a ſupply of Forces ſent to him, he could not keep the Place; this was then Sir *William Wallers* judgement, coming from the Place, what ever he manifeſted afterwards; the General, upon this Meſſage, writ to Sir *William Waller*, *To ſtay with his Horſe where he was, and he would ſend unto him a ſupply of Forces to joyn with his, to go back to* Briſtol, *for the ſtrengthening of it*, which had it been accordingly done, the Place had been ſecured; but Sir *William Waller* had no intention to return back thither with the Horſe he had then with him, whether he had no confidence in them, or what was the cauſe he knoweth, but inſtead of doing what the General required in his Letter, and he, when he left Col. *Fiennes*, told him he hoped he ſhould do, bring him ſuccours, which had ſaved the Town, not otherwiſe to be kept, as he had ſent the General word, for his defeat at the *Devizes* had indeed loſt it, by breaking all the ſtrength of the Garriſon; yet he made the General no anſwer to his Letter, but by his action, and that was to go the next way as faſt as he could to *London*; which when the General underſtood, his forces being weakened by ſickneſs, he returns alſo to *Kingſton* near *London*; and being again ſent unto for a ſupply of forces ſufficient to keep the place, and acquainted in what condition the town was left, he writes back, as hath been related before, *he neither could ſend the Governor any forces for the preſent, nor thought he ever ſhould be able to do it.* This Meſſage of Sir *William wallers* to the General, and the reports he made of the condition the Town was left in, with the Generals offer to ſend Forces to joyn with his, and go back to ſtrengthen and ſave the place, deſiring him to ſtay where he was to that end, hath been ſo often ſpoken of by the General, where Mr. *May* was no ſtranger, that it is very probable Mr. *May* muſt needs be acquainted with it, and it had ſuited very well with his profeſſion of impartialitie, not to have paſſed it over in ſilence, when he ſpeaks of *the Generals intention, to have relieved the weſt, after the Defeat at the* Devizes, *but that he was put from that intention, by what he underſtood of Sir* William Wallers *forces*, here he comes near it, but to do that Gentleman right (as his impartialitie ſhould have cauſed him to do, whomſoever it had concerned) he will not come home to it, and lay the truth open fully as it was: But by all this which I have ſhewed, and which are things ſo known, that no honeſt man will denie them, the falſhood of that firſt part of the Parentheſis clearly appeareth; *it was both feared, and that fear was heard of*, and ſo timely, that the danger might have been prevented, had it been ſo much regarded as to have forces brought thither to defend it, by him who had them offered to him by the General, and who had broken the Garriſon, that ſhould have defended the Town immediately before, and was by the Generals Letters, upon his own report of the condition

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the Town was in, desired to convey that supply of Forces unto it. For the later part of his Parenthesis, *that he was questioned for it, and condemned by a Council of War*; I have shewed before, that this is the usual falshood, whereby strangers to the carriage of this busines, and especially posteritie, are like to be abused; it is most false, that he was *questioned* for this, either by the Parliament or by the General, as thinking him to have committed any fault in what he had done, or resting any way unsatisfied with him for it, and thereupon calling him in question at a Council of War; he was not *questioned*, but, as hath been said, with Importunitie obtained, that the slanders, spread abroad by base Libellers against him, might be *questioned*, and he cleared from them: that onely is true in it, that he was condemned by that Council of War, and no mervail, they were resolved before hand, as you have heard; and the whole carriage of it hath been truly related, whereof there is not bare affirmations onely, but sufficient proofs. Mr. *May*, had his affections [illegible] that way, might much more justly and truly have brought in a parenthesis, to commend this Gentlemans fidelity, wisdom, vigilancy, and courage shewed in saving that Town (when Prince *Rupert* was without with 4000 Horse and 2000 Foot, as himself saith, and a conspiracy within to betray it unto him, of so many, and those so powerfull in the Citie, as one of them was Sherieff that year, or the year before, and the Town at that time little better fortified than any open Village in the Countrey) than here to draw in a parenthesis, purposely to disgrace him; and yet of this, though he handle it in particular, he thinks not fit to speak one word in his commendation. It is well enough known, that if the General had not sent Colonel *Fiennes* down, having notice of this design of Prince *Ruperts* upon the Town, by Mr. *White*, and commanded him to take care of it, the Town had then been lost; and for his own particular, as he hath been since rewarded for his service, it had been better he had let it alone and gone into *Glocester-shire*, whither at the request of Mr. *Stephens*, and other Gentlemen of that Countrey, the Lord *Say*, being Lord Lieutenant thereof; he was sent by the General, with some other Troops of Horse with him under his Command; but at the instance of Mr. *White*, and upon his information of the danger *Bristol* was in, by reason of this design upon it, whereof the General had some notice before another way, and finding it confirmed by Mr. *Whites* coming up purposely to inform him thereof; he commanded him to take that in his way, and do his best to prevent that danger, if he should perceive any such thing as was feared and reported to be in design upon the Town; and onely by his care and industry it was prevented, as all men know, and he afterwards thus rewarded: Mr. *May*, in all this, takes notice of nothing but *Prince* Ruperts *happines*, *that he took it afterwards*, *with more Honour and less bloud-shed*, so all the commendation is given to Prince *Ruperts* good fortune; but mark this falshood with the rest, for it cost Prince *Rupert* afterwards so much bloud before he took it, what ever Mr. *May* is pleased to report in his storie of it, that the purchase by themselves was not thought worth the price they were made to pay for it: I have added this, that Mr. *May* himself, whom I have heard to be an ingenuous man, may judge, whether in all these things he hath used that indifferency which is suitable to his promises, considering with what Elogies he followeth other men, reserving discourses, as he saith, purposely to be handled for that end, apart by themselves; who indeed were the men that left that Town, and by their own confession, under their hands, *if they should*

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ſhould be beaten and loſe the Field, when they preſſed him that was Governour, to aſſiſt them with 1200 of the beſt Souldiers of his Garriſon, ſent under the Command of his Lieutenant Colonel, *as the onely way and means to ſave the Town*, as it was reſolved, not by themſelves alone, but at a Council of War; as I have ſhewed, before he would yield to part with any of his Guarriſon to ſtrengthen themin the Field, for he made that Objection, *that they might be beaten, and loſe the Field*, as they did, *and the ſtrength of his Garriſon thereby*; and how did they loſe it? Mr. *May* will not tell us, when they had betwixt 2 or 3000 Horſe, and 2000 ſtout and good Foot, as they ſhewed themſelves to be, and this againſt 1100 Horſe onely, without Foot, or Artillery, they being furniſhed with both, for there came no more under *Wilmot* from *Oxford*; theſe things are well known, and might eaſily have been known to Mr. *May*, had he been willing to know them; but becauſe he hath no will to take notice of them (for they ſute not well to his *panegyrick reſerved diſcourſes*) give me leave a little to diſcover the truth of thoſe Weſtern buſineſſes, which ended in this unhappy defeat at the *Devizes*, and how that Army was there loſt. Sir *William Waller* being ſent into the Weſt, the place he deſired to be imployed in, offering to command in chief, and not to be kept under the General in his Army, as all men know, and the ſad event, lately mentioned, of the loſs of the Generals Army in the Weſt, made it too manifeſt; he being with his Forces at *Briſtol*, as Mr. *May* tels us, the King ſent Prince *Maurice* and the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, with forces from *Oxford* into the Weſt, to joyn with Sir *Ralph Hopton* and his Weſtern Forces drawn out of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, that by that conjunction there might be an Army ſtrong enough to ſubdue all the Weſt, and overthrow thoſe Countrey Forces, which the Gentlemen and Free-holders of thoſe parts, well affected to the Parliament and their own juſt Rights, had raiſed for the maintenance thereof; amongſt whom, the principal were Sir *Francis Popham* and his ſons, with Sir *John Horner* and others, this Mr. *May* toucheth, but tels not, how all their Forces, which were conſiderable, were ſuffered to be loſt, though ſo well affected to the Parliament as none more; he tels indeed what Sir *William Waller* was a doing, while he ſuffered them to be loſt and ſcattered by the Enemie, which he might have prevented, and ought, by the Charge committed to him of thoſe Countreys, and ſo have joyned to his own forces ſo conſiderable a ſtrength of the well affected people of thoſe Countreys, raiſed and armed by the Gentlemen for the Parliament: For had he, when he went out of *Briſtol*, as all men expected, and in all reaſon was fit to be done, gone to aſſiſt thoſe Gentlemen, who had raiſed the Forces of the Countreys, to oppoſe *Hoptons* advance forwards, and Prince *Maurice* and *Marquis Hartfords* joyning their Forces with him, they had overthrown them, & broken them ſeverally, before ever they could have meet and joyned their Forces together, and all thoſe Countreys Forces, raiſed by thoſe worthy Gentlemen in the *Weſtern* Countreys, had been encouraged, aſſiſted, and preſerved, (who had ſhewed ſuch conſtant affection to the Parliament) to be joyned to the Forces Commanded by Sr. *William Waller*, which would have made that Army ſo ſtrong, as all the *Weſt* of *England* muſt needs in all probability have ſubmitted to the Parliament, there being no Forces left that could oppoſe ſuch a ſtrength as hereby Sr. *William Waller* would have had: but in ſtead of going about ſo neceſſary a ſervice, as this then was, what doth he? Contrary to mens expectations, upon ſome intelligence coming to him, that *Hereford*, or this, and that other Town in

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thoſe parts might be ſurpriſed, out of *Briſtol* he goes, and flies (as Mr. *May* terms it) clean another way from giving aſſiſtance to the Gentlemen, who expected him, and preventing the conjunction of the Kings Forces, which could admit of no delay; and ſtayes in taking and plundering *Hereford* and ſome other Towns, untill Prince *Maurice* and Marquis *Hartford*, in the mean time, without any oppoſition, or interruption, unite all their Forces together, fall upon thoſe Gentlemen and their Forces, who waited for his coming and aſſiſtance, break them and ſcatter them, to the great diſſervice and prejudice of the Parliament at preſent, but eſpecially as it proved afterwards: that which he in the mean time was running up and down after, far from the place that then required his preſence, and that which Mr. *May* reſerves his diſcourſe to ſet forth, was a ſervice which afforded himſelf plunder, and that, as Mr. *May* ſaith, *much to his advantage*, but neither profit nor advantage to the Parliament at all, for the Towns being plundered, were left, and afterwards poſſeſſed by the Enemie again, fortified and kept againſt the Parliament, as is known by the Siege of *Hereford*, where the whole Army of the *Scots* lay after this a long time, and could not reduce it: When this plundering voyage was paſt, which Mr. *May* ſets forth at large, but putting things together, which, I take it, differed in time (it may be, as they were brought unto him) Sir *William Waller* returns, when it was too late, towards *Briſtol*, finds *Hopton* with his Weſtern Army joyned with the Forces brought by Prince *Maurice* and Marques *Hartford*, and by them the Countrey Gentlemen and their forces diſperſed, the Enemies Army grown ſo ſtrong by their conjunction, and thoſe that came in unto them, upon the ſcattering of the Forces of the Gentlemen, that in the Countreys were well affected, for want of timely aſſiſtance, that he with all his forces was not able to encounter them, but conſtrained to preſs the Governor of *Briſtol* to afford him both men and Ammunition, otherwiſe he could not keep the field, and then both Town and Countrey would be loſt: This was the effect of that his rambling and running up and down from the ſervice, that required his preſence and his Forces, by which, all this diſſervice and prejudice that the Parliament received, might have been prevented; but this plundering journey diverted him, that he neither gave timely aſſiſtance to their friends, nor oppoſition to the Enemie. The Governor of *Briſtol*, as hath been ſaid, afforded him both Ammunition and 1200 Souldiers, the ſtrength of that Garriſon, upon the reſolution at a Council of War of his Officers (ſome of the chief Gentlemen of the Countreys retired in thither, and Townſmen being preſent) *that as things then ſtood, the onely means to ſave that Town was, to ſtrengthen him, that he might not loſe the Field:* upon this addition of ſtrength, with Ammunition, ſent him out of *Briſtol*, they fight the Enemie, the Fight continued till night without any conſiderable advantage appearing on either ſide; that which ſeemed to give the advantage to Sir *William Waller*, was Sir *Ralph Hoptons* drawing off the Field, and Marching away the next morning, which it was thought was occaſioned by want of Ammunition, ſome accident in the Battle befalling him in that reſpect; and this is made the more probable, by the Ammunition ſent unto him from *Oxford* to the *Devizes*, which was intercepted; what ever was the cauſe, he left the Field and marched away; Sir *William Waller*, with his Army following, he retreated into the *Devizes*, and Prince *Maurice* and Marques *Hartford* went to *Oxford*, Sir *William Waller* with all his Forces, Horſe and Foot, blocks them up in this Town, intercepts Ammunition ſent un-

to them from *Oxford*, upon this they offer to treat and ſurrender the place upon conditions, which had it been entertained, all thoſe *Corniſh* Forces and that Armie had disbanded, and gone home, and the Weſt been in the Parliaments power, but no Treatie would be hearkened unto; neither was there any Souldier-like courſe taken, or attempt made to force and ſtorm the place, no man in particular, nor time appointed for that work, but there they ſtay about it, doing nothing to any purpoſe, as ſome of the ableſt Foot-Officers obſerved, and afterward ſpake of it, until *Wilmot* came from *Oxford*, with a matter of 1100 Horſe, to their aſſiſtance that were blocked up within the Town; when he was come, he could neither go into the Town to *Hopton*, nor he with his Foot come out to him, Sir *William Wallers* whole Armie being between them; this Partie, which *Wilmot* brought, ſeemed ſo inconſiderable, they having in their Armie of Horſe double the number to them, that neglecting the help of their foot, they drew up their Horſe a Mile or two before their Foot, leaving them behind, and took from the Foot, to carrie along with their Horſe, ſome pieces of Artillerie, and ſo, out of an overmuch confidence in the numbers of their Horſe, would not make any uſe of their Foot, nor draw them up with them, which had they done, they muſt needs have beaten the Enemie out of the Field, for they had neither Foot nor any Ordnance with them, but they will do the buſineſs with their Horſe, and when they came to do it, they charged not the whole bodie of the Enemies Horſe, nor with their own whole bodie of Horſe, double in number, as I have ſaid, to the Enemies, but ſtood diſputing a place of advantage, the gaining of the top of a Hill, with one Regiment to one of the Enemies, till at length thereby, two or three of their Regiments being broken, all their Horſe began to run and would not be ſtayed, nay they would not rally themſelves behind their Foot, being a Bodie of 2000 that ſtood firm behind them in the Field, where they might have done it ſafely, and with their help (which before they had deſpiſed) have recovered all, and beaten the Enemie out of the Field certainly enough, notwithſtanding that ruffle they had received upon the diſpute of that place, which was but ſome Regiments neither, but when they ſet a running, they would not be made to look behind them, until they came to *Briſtol* with the ill news, and ſhamefull indeed, of having abandoned all their Foot, and left them in the Field to ſhift for themſelves; who not discouraged by all this, ſtood to their Arms, firm in a Bodie, ſaying one to another, *ſure our Horſe will come to us again*; and when the Enemies Horſe came up to charge them, they fired upon them in that manner, that they beat them off, and made them run back in rout and diſorder, at which time, if their own Horſe had been there and fallen on, they had wholly routed and broken them; and thus they kept themſelves together and beat off the Enemie, though ſo ſhamefully forſaken, untill their own Ordnance were turned upon them, which the Horſe had drawn up from them, when fooliſhly they neglected to make uſe of their aſſiſtance, and running away had left in the Enemies hands, and until they ſaw *Hopton* with his Foot marching up out of the Town to joyn with the Enemies Horſe againſt them. Here you have, in particulars, the whole carriage, or rather moſt unwiſe, and moſt unhappie miſcarriage of this Weſtern buſineſs, from the beginning to the end; in no piece of it ſo managed as *deſerved a Diſcourſe apart and of purpoſe to ſet forth the merit thereof*, but rather to ſhew the diſſervices that did ariſe from the ill mannagement of this buſineſs from firſt to laſt. If thoſe *Summerſetſhire* Gentlemen, and

others

others of the Weſtern Counteys, conſtantly faithfull to the Parliament, who at that time were deſerted, and altogether failed of the aſſiſtance they expected from Sir *William Waller*, by his running up and down to *Hereford* and other places, while they were left to the Enemie to be loſt, and ſuch of them (as there were ſome) who were at the laſt Battle at the *Devizes*, or *Run away Hill*, as they call it, and ſaw all; ſhall be aſked of theſe particulars, by Mr. *May*, and of the conſequences which neceſſarily followed thereupon; I aſſure my ſelf, they will teſtifie, that what I have related is the truth, and Mr. *May* thereby will be better informed than he hath been: the truth is, this (which Mr. *May* ſtiles *uſual celeritie, and activitie*, in running to *Hereford* and up and down to other places, to catch Towns and plunder them, ſo far diſtant from the place where at that time *theſe active forces*, as he terms them, were expected, and ought to have been imployed, for the prevention of theſe ill conſequences, which their failer at that time occaſioned, and by their timely attending the buſineſs, might certainly have been prevented) fell out alſo in ſuch an unhappie conjuncture of affairs, that in all probabilitie of humane reaſon, the conſequences of theſe miscarriages had not onely been the loſs of the Weſtern Counteys, the Citie of *Briſtol*, and what ſo many well affected Gentlemen in thoſe Countries were expoſed unto, but the loſs of all, Parliament, Citie of *London*, and the whole Kingdom, had the King taken the advantage and followed it, marching up to *London* with that numerous Armie made up of all his Forces joyned together, where he would at that time have found the Generals Armie ſo mouldred away by ſickneſs, and lying near *London*, into which they would drop as into a wood, that they were able to make little reſiſtance; and what they were in his own eſteem at that time, his anſwer ſheweth, when he was deſired to relieve *Briſtol*; but God was pleaſed to prevent this, by caſting the King upon Sieges, till we could recover our ſelves. It is very likely, this diſcourſe will kindle coals, when truth is laid open to the view of the world, and all vizards pulled off, thoſe, whoſe foul faces are thereby diſcovered, will begin to wince like gall'd-backed horſes, when they are rubbed, and as you muſt expect their heels, ſo I may expect theſe mens pens to be dipped in gall and vineger; but I value it not at all, rail and lye as long as they liſt, all I deſire both in this, and in all other particulars, is to hold forth to the preſent age, and tranſmit to poſteritie the naked truth of things without any dreſſes ariſing from faction, part-taking, or any other reſpect; which being done, I leave it to the God of truth to work mens hearts to imbrace truth made known to them, or give them over to believe lies, becauſe they love them better, in his juſt judgement, as ſhall ſeem good to himſelf. That I have done my dutie, and that which in this time I think my part to do, ſhall ſatisfie me; onely as Mr. *May*, in his Preface, hath a requeſt to his Reader, ſo I will here requeſt of him (being, as I before ſaid I have heard, a man of ingenuitie, otherwiſe I ſhould not trouble my ſelf about it) that he, when he reads this, will not underſtand it, as intended to caſt a reproach upon him or his writings, but onely better to inform *him* of the truth of things, wherein, as in ſome other things which I could ſhew him, ſo in this particular I am ſure, he hath been misinformed. I will conclude with that which I think will ſatisfie all men in this particular, but ſuch whoſe malice, envie, and præingagements therein, will not ſuffer them to be ſatisfied with any thing, and that is the Teſtimonie of all the chief Officers of the Armie, for Col. *Fiennes* his clearing, which as they expreſſed preſently upon the place whenat

was retaken, being abundantly ſatisfied therein, and taking notice of a ſpecial providence ordering things ſo, as ſeemed to point at the vindication of his Honor, ſo they thought fit, and themſelves bound in conſcience, (upon the coming forth of a printed Paper, containing a Catalogue of their ſervices and ſucceſſes, whereunto their names were affixed, which paper, as others, caſt a ſlander upon this Gentleman) to ſet down their opinions therein, and ſubſcribe their names thereunto, in a Declaration which they writ to diſavow that ſlander in the printed Paper, and ſent the writing ſo ſubſcribed by them to the Gentleman; and whether this be not more conducing to his honor, than ſuch a Sentence, of ſuch a Council of War, ſo prepared, ſo contrived and carried, as I have ſhewed before, can prejudice the ſame, I leave to all indifferent men to judge. I ſhall add alſo a Letter, written by Col. *Fleetwood*, to the Lord *Say*, inſtantly after the taking of the Town again by Storm, Col. *Fleetwood* being upon the place, and in the ſervice, that thereby it may appear how the Officers of the Armie reflected upon this particular, and expreſſed themſelves therein: and what was the judgement alſo of the Officers under Prince *Rupert*, concerning this unjuſt proceeding againſt Col. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who were at the ſurrender of the Town when Prince *Rupert* took it, and ſaw in what condition it then was, and how notwithſtanding by him defended, whereof certainly they were better able to judge and give teſtimonie, than a companie of Tapſters, Women, Boys, Run-aways, and Souldiers, who were accuſed by him for refuſing to do their dutie in the action, with paper-Teſtimonies (the perſons themſelves not being produced) which might be made in an Ale-houſe, or under an hedge: and theſe were the proofs made uſe of againſt him, while Gentlemen of worth and underſtanding, as Mr. *John Aſh*, and Mr. *Hodges*, with others, teſtified the truth in his behalf, and for his clearing; but any proofs would ſerve the turn, the buſineſs being before determined. The original of both theſe Copies are to be ſeen, that of the letter, in the Lord *Say's* hand, the other, the Gentleman hath had long by him, but ſatisfying himſelf in the clearneſs of his own conſcience, and being cleared alſo otherwiſe, in the opinion of the Houſe, actually reſtified upon the ſame occaſion, he hath kept it by him, and would not publiſh it: but for my parr, conſidering the ſcandalous lyes publiſhed by this Incendiarie, and by other railing Pamphlers to his disgrace, which may paſs to poſteritie, and to others for the preſent, who may know as little as poſteritie will do of the truth of things in this particular; as thoſe worthie men thought it fit to declare their opinions for his juſtification, and vindication, ſo do I think it fit, and my ſelf bound, having the true Copies of both, to publiſh them to the world: Col. *Fleetwood*, and Major *Harriſon*, mentioned in this Letter, are Gentlemen that are known to be *fide digni*, and ſuch as would not ſpeak or write that which were not truth.

A Copie

A Copy of Colonel *Fleetwoods* Letter, written to the Lord *Say* from *Briſtol*, upon the taking of that Town by ſtorm from *Prince Rupert*, by the Army under the command of Sr. *Thomas Fairfax*.

My Lord,

THis unſpeakable mercie of the Lord, in delivering up this Citie into our hands, I doubt not will enlarge the hearts of all the Saints to praiſe his holy name; that which to me much adds to the mercie, is that it hath pleaſed God, in this ſo much to vindicate the honour and innocencie of that Noble Gentleman, Colonel Fiennes, whoſe nearneſs of relation to your Lordſhip ſilences my Pen from writing what my thoughts of him are, but this I muſt ſay, he is now, even by all our Officers, that I ſpeak with, mentioned with much honour and reſpect, and acknowledged they could not imagine, how more ſhould be done by any man, than he did in this, conſidering the place, and the men he had to keep it: what, My Lord Hawley and others of the Princes Army ſay, I ſhall acquaint you with, that they ever judged the ſentence upon Colonel Fiennes, as moſt unjuſt, the Town being then ſo weakly fortified, and the number of men he had to keep it withall, ſo few, his men being not half the number of what they had; we do look upon this buſineſs in the whole procedure of it, as that wherein the Lord did intend to clear Colonel Fiennes innocencie: it is good, my Lord, to truſt all our affairs in Gods hands, and to wait his time, being aſſured of this, that in every ſeeming frown there is a ſmile, Love is intended in all, if we do not anticipate Providence we ſhall ſee all is beſt; in every diſpenſation there is onely this deſigned, to endear our hearts to Jeſus Chriſt, I doubt not but he hath in this learned to know the minde of God, and hath made ſuch improvement, as he rather rejoices, than repines at the hand of Providence; Lieutenant General Cromwell intends to make a Relation of this buſineſs, wherein he will endeavour to clear the whole buſineſs, I ſhall therefore not further trouble your Lordſhip, than with this, that I am

Briſtol, 10 *September*, 1646.

Your moſt humble,
and Obliged ſervant
Charles Fleetwood.

Major *Harriſon* ſalutes your Lordſhip with his humble ſervice, he was the perſon to whom my Lord *Hawley* expreſſed, as is above mentioned upon his queſtioning this particular.

A Copie of the Declaration made by the Chief Officers of the Armie, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (after the Storming of *Briſtol*, and taking of it) in vindication of the honor of Col. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who ſurrendered it before to Prince *Rupert*, by whom it was now ſurrendered to this Armie.

WHereas in a Paper lately printed, containing a Catalogue of the Succeſſes of this Armie, the Citie of Briſtol is Recorded to have been cowardly and baſely loſt, when Surrendered to the Enemie by Col. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and we find the name of the General and this Armie prefixed thereunto; leſt, by our ſilence, that ſhould be thought the ſence and judgement of the Officers of this Armie (which is far otherwiſe) we therefore, to do right, as to that worthy Gentleman, ſo to truth it ſelf, held our ſelves bound in conſcience, and in the bond of Love, to declare, That the circuit of the Line and Works about that Citie, being above four miles, and the Works of little ſtrength then, compared with what they were at the laſt taking thereof; and conſidering how few men Col. Fiennes had then to defend ſuch a Circuit, the flower of his Garriſon, having ſo lately before been broken and loſt by that unhappie blow given to the Parliaments Armie near the Devizes; and conſidering, notwithſtanding all this, how powerfull and continued aſſaults were ſuſtained by him upon a general Storm, and how much bloud, both of Souldiers and conſiderable Officers, that place coſt the Enemie, and that after the Line was entered, the Suburbs were ſtill diſputed, till the Common Souldiers, in great numbers, deſerted their Colours, and quitted their Guards (of all which, by divers Officers and others that were eye-witneſſes of the action, we have been fully aſſured) Upon all theſe Conſiderations we are fully ſatisfied in our judgements and conſciences, That the defence of that place, by that Gentleman, was both faithfull and honorable; to which a far greater witneſs, than ours, ſeems to call for our ſuffrage, even the Divine hand, eminently pointing at his vindication, in the late happie reduction of that place; when, although it was made much more defencible by the addition of ſeveral fortifications, and furniſhed with a double proportion of all neceſſaries for a defence, eſpecially of men, moſt of them tried Souldiers, commanded by Prince Rupert himſelf, who the former time took it, and many other great Officers under him, men of long experience, great abilities, and known courage and fidelitie to the ſervice they were in, and a bodie of 700 or 800 Horſe, to ſcower within the Line, and beat our Foot when entered; Nevertheleſs, againſt all theſe advantages, the Divine Providence, clearing the former Governors Honor, and innocencie, delivered the ſame Town by Storm to this Armie, and that with the ſixth part of the loſs of men, on our part, the Enemie then ſuffered, when Col. Fiennes defended it. Next for his Surrendering of it after the Enemie was entered the Line and Suburbs, and the Souldiers deſerted their Guards and Colours, we cannot but conſider, that he had in this caſe no intrenchment defencible with the ſmall number he had then left, except the Caſtle, which how untenable it was, and is for any time conſiderable, againſt an Armie prepared for Batterie and Aſſault, all that have ſeen it, and can judge, (will we think) witneſs with us; that, had he drawn in thither with his Souldiers, he muſt have left that great Citie (one of the Chief in the Kingdom) with the eſtates and lives of thouſands of Inhabitants (moſt of them well affected, and indeed moſt of the chief friends the Parliament had in the Countrey round about, who were fled in thither for ſhelter) expoſed to ſpoil and deſtruction, or at leaſt to the furie of the

the Enemie; ſo that having in this caſe no rational hopes of timely relief (the Parliaments Weſtern Forces being then all wholly broken and beaten out of the Field, in that blow at the Devizes, *and other defeats further Weſt, and the Earl of* Eſſex *his Armie then ſo low through ſickneſs and weakneſs, as 't was forced to retire out of the Field) we conceive that Col.* Fiennes *had good reaſon to treat for Conditions, and make the beſt he could for the Citie, and thoſe that were with him in it, and the conditions he made in that caſe were good and honorable; and wherein alſo we cannot but take notice of the ſame hand of God pointing at his Vindication in the late Reduction of that place, wherein, although Prince* Rupert *had (beſides all the advantages afore mentioned for a defence, above Col.* Fiennes *his caſe) the addition of a Royal Fort, not Subject to batterie, not aſſailable without much and long work of Aproaches, and both that, and the Caſtle furniſhed plentifully with Victuals and Ammunition for a long defence; and though by advantage of the Fort and Caſtle, he had betwixt both ſuch full command both of the Town, and of the Grounds within the Line, as we could hardly find within the Line where to draw up our men out of their annoyance, but were fain, for the preſent, to draw back much of the Army out of the Line after our entrances; and though both his Souldierie and the Townſmen for the moſt part ſtuck to him, after we were entered; yet finding neither the Caſtle, nor Fort, nor both ſufficient to relieve and ſecure his whole number of Souldierie, and the reſt depending on him (which was Col.* Fiennes *his caſe much more clearly) he found reaſon enough, to make Conditions for himſelf and them, and upon Treatie to Surrender, on terms not better, nor more advantageous for his partie or the Citie, than thoſe Col.* Fiennes *obtained, were, if as well kept. And therefore from all theſe conſiderations (as the Council of War that cenſured him, did it without imputation of Cowardiſe or unfaithfulneſs to him, and as the Lord General* Eſſex *in remitting that ſentence, and the Houſe of Commons in his readmiſſion thither, have led us the way, ſo we do in diſcharge of our conſciences before God, and unto men, hereby teſtifie unto the world, that our ſence upon that whole action of Col.* Fiennes, *is far other than the ſaid printed paper does import, and that we neither have in our ſelves, nor do believe, that there is any cauſe for others to entertain any ſuch thoughts of diſhonor towards him concerning that buſineſs. In teſtimonie whereof, we have hereunto ſubſcribed this of 1646.*

Thomas Fairfax	Char. Fleetwood	Rich. Dean.
Oliver Cromwell	Th. Harriſon	John Hewſon
Henry Ireton	Nath. Rich.	W. Stane
Ph. Skippon	Rich. Forteſcue	Leon Watſon
R. Hammon		

For *the ſurrender of Banbury*, which he couples with *Briſtol*, it is a Taleſo ridiculous and falſe, as that the Reader may ſee, by this own inſtance, how eagerly this man catcheth up a falſe report againſt his Neighbour, and carrieth it up and down, making himſelf thereby the Devils Porter to vent his ware, without ever examining, whether they be true, or falſe, ſo that they ſerve his turn, to diſgrace thoſe, who will not be drawn into the factious proceedings of his party; and this may be obſerved throughout this whole Pamphlet of his, as I ſhall ſhew when I meet with the particulars in it, and for that purpoſe it ſeems he was ſet upon this work; how ill this becomes thoſe, who have the cauſe of God ſo often in their mouths, and how unſuitable it is to a man truly godly, the 15 *Pſalm* teacheth us.

It

It is well known that *Banbury* was never any Garrison of the Parliaments, no more than any other open Village in the Countrey, for such was that Town; neither was the Castle in it any other; than an old house of the Lord *Sayes*, wherein he never inhabited; the King indeed afterwards made it a strong piece, as most in *England*, and put a Garrison into it, to the spoiling of that Town, and drawing all the adjacent parts of the Countreys about it under contribution; and for this the Town may thank themselves, and the parts adjacent had little cause to thank them; for the Parliament had twice sent Forces (before the King meddled with it) to fortifie it, once from *Coventrie* 400 Souldiers, and a second time 200 from *Northampton*, both times the Town desired they might not be put into the Castle, fearing it might bring the Kings Forces upon them; and thereby what they feared, and might thus have prevented, soon after befell them, the King sending Forces into that Castle, and by *Green* the Enginier strongly fortifying it. By whom then was *Banburie* surrendred to the prejudice of the Parliament? was it by the Kings Forces, for never any other had a Garrison in it? Here you see one of his fine fables: but that he may have no creeping hole, like a Fox, to get out at, I will not leave unanswered, that which I can imagine could give any colour to this tale told him, or invented by him: At the first beginning of these unhappy troubles, before any stroke struck, or War begun, when the settling of the Militia by Ordinance of Parliament and Authority thereof, and the Commission of *Array* by Warrant from the King, were in agitation in several Counties of the Kingdom, there were several meetings, in the several parts of those Counties, upon the putting in execution the one and the other of these Commissions, but as yet without blows, or bloud-shed: it fell out so to be so in *Warwickshire*, the Earle of *Northampton*, Lord Lieutenant of that County by Commission from the King, indeavouring to execute the Commission of *Array*, and the Lord *Brook* on the other side to put in execution the ordinance of Parliament for setling of the *Militia*; so when the one sent out Warrants to call together the Train-band-men, and Voluntiers, to one side of the Countie, the other summoned them to another: during this contention between them in the Countie, the Lord *Brook*, without Warrant, either from the General, or the Parliament, (as is to be gathered from his own words) conveys down 4 Peeces of Ordnance from *London*, to carrie them to his Castle at *Warwick*; when he had brought them to *Banbury*, the Gentlemen of *Warwickshire*, who met the Lord *Brook* there, doubted they should not be strong enough to go through with that business, and carrie the Ordnance to *Warwick*, if the Lord of *Northampton* should meet them upon the way, as they suspected he would, having had notice of it; hereupon the Lord *Brook* sent unto Mr. *John Fiennes*, and desired him to accompanie them with so many as he could get to go along with him, which he did, and had so many that voluntarily came unto them, out of *Banbury* and other Towns adjoyning, that when the Lord of *Northamton* met them, as he did upon the edge of *Warwickshire*, after a little time that they had stood facing one another, there were twice as many with the Lord *Brook* as there were with him, in so much, that it was reported the Lord of *Northampton* should say to those Gentlemen, who had put him upon this business, that *they had brought him there to lose his Honor*; for it was thought if one of the Pieces of Artillerie, whereof they had four, besides a double number of men, had been discharged upon them, they having none, they had all left the Field presently, and, if I mistake not, some of themselves have confessed

confeſſed as much: But the Lord *Brook* and Mr. *Purefoy*, who were the chief actors in that buſineſs, thought it fitter at that time to treat, than fight, and to that end ſent to my Lord *Northampton* to treat with him, who ſtood ſtifly upon this, that no Pieces of Artillery ſhould be brought into *Warwick-ſhire*, to fortifie any place in that County, without the Kings Commiſſion for it, and therefore they muſt carry the Ordnance back again out of the County; which in concluſion, notwithſtanding the great advantage they had, they agreed unto, a thing wondered at, and the Pieces were drawn back out of *Warwick-ſhire* to *Banburie*; being aſked by friends, why they would do this, having a double number of men and Artillery beſides, the conditions alſo being diſhonorable? they both gave this for the reaſon (which I know to be true, for I heard it) that it was becauſe they would not be the firſt that ſhould begin this unhappy War and ſtrike the firſt blow in it, and ſhed the firſt bloud: it ſeems alſo they had no Warrant for what they had done, in bringing of the Pieces down: for the Lord *Brook*, when they came back again to *Banburie*, deſired Mr. *John Fiennes*, that he might leave the Pieces in the Caſtle of *Banburie*, untill he went to *London* and got a Warrant from the Parliament to carry them to his Caſtle at *Warwick*; whereby it is evident; he had none before, but had done it of his own head without Authority; he promiſed alſo Mr. *Fiennes* to return again within a week, but he neither came himſelf, nor brought, nor ſent any Warrant from the Parliament, or the General, within a week, a fortnight, or three weeks, as I take it; in which time the King being ſent unto by the Lord of *Northampton*, ſent a Warrant to him, to demand the Ordnance in his name, and commanded the Earles of *Danbie* and *Barkſhire*, with the Chief Gentlemen in Office in *Oxford-ſhire*, to require the delivery of them upon his Warrant; theſe came to *Banburie* with the Earl of *Northampton* and Sr. *Nicholas Biron*, who was ſent by the King with the Warrant to require the Ordnance in the Kings name, and they altogether with the Townſmen deſired Mr. *Fiennes*, that he would not, by diſobeying the Kings Warrant, be the firſt that ſhould begin a War, and make his own Countrey and theirs, and that Town, the ſeat of it, and that for the Ordnance of a private man which he had no Warrant to keep; there being the Kings Warrant requireing the delivery of them, and challenging them to be his: at that time all Warrants from the King, which were not by Parliament adjudged illegal (as that of the Commiſſion of *Array*) were obeyed as formerly, all Writs iſſued in his name, and under his Seal: Mr. *Fiennes* upon this Warrant delivered the Ordinance, having no Authority to keep them from the Parliament, or General, which might protect him againſt that Authority which required the delivery of them, neither was there any Authority for bringing them thither that he knew of, but he might rather ſuſpect it was not approved of, when he could hear nothing of the Lord *Brook* (who promiſed to bring a Warrant from the Parliament within a week) in two, or three weeks, and yet he knew he went up purpoſely for it, as himſelf ſaid: what wiſe man can think it fit, for him, without any Warrant, to juſtifie ſuch an action, to be the beginner of ſuch a quarrel as this, for another man, who upon that very reaſon, and becauſe he had no Warrant for what he had done, deſerts the action himſelf, and draws back the Ordnance out of *Warwick-ſhire*, being required in the Kings name not to bring them into it, without the Kings Warrant for it, and this when no Warrant was ſhewed unto him from the King, as there was to Mr. *Fiennes*? if Mr. *Fiennes* had been the firſt

man that had ſhed bloud, and begun this War to keep theſe Ordnance without any Warrant for it, nay, ſeeing a Warrant was not ſent when purpoſely gone for, but ſo long delaid, and he might thereupon well think denied; what could have excuſed him from being a Murtherer, a Traitor, the firſt kindler of this unhappy fire in the Kingdom, and running moſt fooliſhly into all theſe crimes, by doing that without all Obligation thereunto for another, who for fear of this, durſt not, or would not do it for himſelf? The Law would have condemned him juſtly, and he had no ground to expect protection from the Parliament, having no Authority, nor Warrant from them for ſuch an action. Thus you have that which I think to be the ground and onely colour for this Tale, which he dreſſes up, in this Pamphlet, into a falſe ſlander, purpoſely to diſgrace that Family, which it is well known hath not deſerved ill of this Kingdom, nor of his own Nation, however requited: If there be any other thing imaginable concerning *Banburie* that hath come to his ears, which are wide open to receive what ever may give him the leaſt pretence, or colour to caſt up his gorge againſt this Family, it can be nothing but what befell *Banburie* after the Battle at *Edge-hill*, ſome five miles from that Town, which, in reſpect of that Family, is as idle and ridiculous as the former, not one of them being there, or near the place when the battle was fought: two of them were in the Generals Army when the fight was, and did as good ſervice there, as thoſe who are taken notice of by name, being of the ſame place and rank in the Army that they were, as Sr. *William Balfore* and Sr. *Philip Stapleton*, in whoſe Regiments they were, could witneſs: But upon this occaſion, it not having been obſerved by others, I will lay open the miſcarriage of that buſineſs in particular, with the conſequences thereof, which will appear to be one of the moſt unſouldier-like, unreaſonable, and unhappy, that hath fallen out in all theſe Wars. The Generals Army being, in the beginning of the fight, in ſome danger, it pleaſed God yet in the end to turn the day and give him the victory, though a conſiderable part of his Army were not then come up to the reſt, which invited the Enemy the rather to engage in the fight: when all the Kings Foot were broken except two Regiments, and thoſe but pieces of Regiments which remained, their Horſe coming up to them, they withdrew out of the Field where the battle had been fought, leaving the General and his Army upon the ground, and ſo retired up to the top of the Hill, where the Horſe ſtanding ſometime, untill they could draw off their Ordnance, the Horſe alſo went away: At that time came in Colonel *Hamden*, with three freſh Regiments of Foot, and ten Troops of Horſe, and ſome Artillery, to the Generals Army, theſe coming up after the fight was ended, a freſh ſupply not having been at all in the battle, when it was expected, the Enemy being beaten out of the Field, and this addition of freſh Forces come to the Army, they would have advanced forward, having but five miles to go to *Banburie*, and make uſe of this good ſucceſs to the compleating of the victory, which had they done, the King had not had one of his Foot remaining, all his Ordnance, Ammunition and baggage taken, and been forced himſelf to eſcape with his Horſe, which would have been difficult for him then to have done, for he himſelf afterwards complains, that the Countreys thereabout were prepared and reſolved to riſe upon him: In ſtead of doing this, which in all probability had made an end of this unhappy War in the firſt beginning of it; The General with *Merick* and *Ballard* (it was thought by their adviſe) ſuddenly rides back ſeven miles, to *Warwick*, a place deſtitute of

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proviſions to refreſh the Army (which was the pretence of it) by their having quartered about it as they came but a day, or two before, whereas had they marched to *Banburie*, they had had all plenty of proviſions, where the Countrey expected them, and for their own ſafety, deſired their coming; and this was done ſo ſuddenly and unexpectedly to all the reſt of the Officers, that Sr. *William Balfore*, Colonel *Hamden*, Sr. *Philip Stapleton*, with divers others, admired at it, and were much grieved for it, as they teſtified in their ſpeeches one to another, and ſome of them expreſſed then, what they aſſured themſelves would be the ſad effects thereof, which proved ſo, and quickly appeared; for the King fearing nothing more than the Generals advancing with his Army after him, was going away and paſſing by *Banburie* with what ſpeed he could; but when he underſtood the General was gone back to *Warwick*, Prince *Rupert* with the Horſe went to the place where the battle was fought, and the Forces that were paſſing by *Banburie*, with the Artillery, were drawn back thither, the Town being as I have ſaid an open Village, having neither Walls, Gates nor Bars, at any enterance into it, but having with Carts, Boards, and ſuch like other things ſtopped the paſſages into the Town as well as they could, to prevent the Enemies ſtraggling Horſe from plundering the Town, expecting the Generals Army for their defence, when they heard, after the fight and victory, he had left them and was turned back to *Warwick*, twelve or fourteen miles from them, and ſaw the Kings Forces thereupon returned to the Town, the Townſmen preſently pulled down thoſe Barricadoes, which they had ſtopped the enterance into the Town with, knowing the other Army having deſerted them, they could not hold it an hour againſt that force the King had left with him, nor the Caſtle againſt the Kings Ordnance, being then without any fortification, as hath been ſaid; and this they did, hoping to be better dealt withall, when they made no reſiſtance, which would have been to no purpoſe; hereupon that Town was taken and plundered, and the whole Countrey of *Oxford-ſhire* given up into the Enemies hands, which inſtantly before had manifeſted as good affection to the Parliament as any, readily appearing with their Train-bands, upon the ſettling of the Militia, for the Parliaments aſſiſtance, and that on every ſide of the County, and all that were obſerved thereby to have ſhewed themſelves well affected to the Parliament given up, by this Counter-march backward, to be ſufficiently plundered by the Enemy: but this, though bad enough, was not all; for the King hereupon (as he had a very good colour given him) aſſumes the victory to himſelf, indeed all the advantages of a victory were given him hereby, poſſeſſeth himſelf of *Oxford*, makes that the place of his reſidence, being in the heart of the Kingdom; alſo by ſurpriſing ſome Forces of the Generals Army, as the Lord *Peterboroughs* Regiment that accidentally quartered in *Banburie*, as they were going to the Army, and ſome others, all which were given up into the Enemies hands, with other Forces taken up in that County, thus given up as the reſt to the Enemy; and the Forces which came in unto him, upon the fame of his having obtained the victory and beaten back the Parliaments Army, for which he cauſed a ſolemn Thankſ-giving to be kept in *Oxford*; he recruits his broken Army, and is put into a capacity again and a fair probability to compaſs his firſt deſign, to march up to *London*, poſſeſs himſelf of that Citie, and ſo deſtroy the Parliament; how near he came unto the effecting of it, the buſineſs at *Branford* makes evident to all men, who are acquainted with theſe paſſages from firſt to laſt: Here

is this Surrender of *Banburie*, if this be it he aims at, indeed it was likely to have proved the Surrender of Parliament, Citie, and whole Kingdom, and that by a victorie thus given to the Enemy, when obtained by us; for to redeem this oversight and prevent the mischiefs likely to follow thereupon, the General was constrained to make such long marches, that the King with his recruited Army might not be at *London* before him, that he brake and weakned his Army very much, and then bringing them into the Citie, lost them as in a Wood, so that when the King came to *Branford*, within seven miles of *London*, with his whole Army, so few of the Generals could be gotten together, that some of the Members of both Houses were necessitated to sit up all night with the Major and the Committee of the Militia of *London* at *Guild-Hall*, to perswade them to send forth the Regiments of the Train-bands of *London*, under Major *Skippon* to resist the Kings Army; making it appear to them, how much safer it would be for the Citie, to oppose the Enemies coming into it, than to fight with him in their streets, where he would finde many friends to joyn with him: with no little difficulty, at one of the Clock after-midnight, they were perswaded to send forth a very good strength, which had they not done, all had been indangered, as one, or two of the Regiments of the Generals Army, the Lord *Brooks* and Mr. *Hollis* his were surprised and broken in *Branford*. These were the foul failings, and great miscarriages of our first beginnings in War, when we were but young Soldiers, and had little experience in military affairs in respect of actions of War, or Councils of War, so that it had been better for some, how able soever they were, or what good service soever they had performed, that they had had nothing to do with either; the truth is, untill the new Modelling of the Army, no success was followed to any great advantage of the Parliament, but if one action in a Summer were performed, then presently Winter quarters were thought of, though in the midst of Summer, and in the next Spring the Parliament was new to begin again, both in providing money and men, and so the Wheel turned about, the King having time enough given him thereby, upon any loss fully to recover himself; but when the Army was Moulded anew (occasioned in great part by the observation hereof, and some other things) then the busines went on in another manner, with good success, and that followed to good purpose, and all well carried along, so long as the War continued. This particular passage of *Banburie*, which hath occasioned the opening of this whole busines fully, was such, that Mr. *May* in his Historie cannot pass it by, but tells us that a Noble Gentleman of the Parliaments side, expressed himself much to the same purpose, that I have here related, for the substance of it; and it is likely it was some of those Officers, Members of the House of Parliament, of whom I spake before, that used these speeches to him, for they all professed against it. If any man shall think I have insisted too long upon these two particulars, let him know, that I have the rather done it, that men may see the great difference that there is between things when they are related nakedly, according to the truth of them, as they were acted, without any factious dressings or vizards put upon them; and when they are disguised with falshood, to serve some mens ends, and carrie on their designs: I shall therefore do the like in other particulars, as I meet with them, strangers and posteritie being the persons most of all abused by these paintings and daubings, malicious scratchings, and dashings, too much used by Historians: besides, I have a good example and president to follow, in vindi-

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eating the Honor of this Familie, from the lyes and ſlanders of malicious, or ignorant Hiſtorians and Pamphleters, the ſame being formerly done by a *French* Hiſtorian, ſhewing the falſhood and ignorance, or malice of *du-Serres*, in ſcandalizing *Robert de Fiennes*, Conſtable of *France*, and making his error therein apparent out of authorities, which if he had had either care or learning enough to have ſearched and conſidered, he had never tranſmitted ſuch a lye and ſlander to poſteritie, concerning a Noble man of worth, who had done good ſervice to the King and Kingdom, acknowledged by the King himſelf: but theſe things we muſt expect from impudent and malitious Pamphleters, and ignorant Hiſtorians, who will be writing whether true or falſe.

Friſart vol. 1. pag. 369. Anno 1370. * So the old manuſcript in the Earle of *Arundels* Library hath it.

Or fut adviſé & regardé en France *par l'aduis & Counſeil des Nobles & des Prelats & a la commune voix de tout le royaume (que bien y' ayda) qu'il eſtoit de neceſſite qui les Francois euſſent ung Chef & Gouverneur nomme Conneſtable (car meſſire Moreau de* Fiennes, * *qu' avoit eſte valiant homme & entreprenant aux armes, ſe vouloit oſter & departer de l' office,* &c.

John Tillet Recueil des Traictes entre les Roys de *France* & d'Angleterre, fol. 90. B.

Gueſclin, par la demiſſion voluntaire de Meſſire Moreau Sire de Fiennes, *fut Créé Conneſtable de* France.

Upon theſe Authorities, the *French* Hiſtorian *du Plex* doth put that in the Catalogue of *du Serres* his errours (whereof he hath compiled a whole book) that he affirmeth *the Conſtable* Fiennes *to have been depoſed from his Office for divers Crimes committed by him.* But I find in the life of *Bertrand du Gueſclin*, bound together with a book, called [*Le Triumphe de Neuf preux,*] and printed at *Paris*, Ann. 1507. a Diſcourſe between the King of *France*, and *Bertrand de Gueſclin*, when he offered to him the Conſtables Sword in manner following:

Hiſtorie de *Bertrand du Gueſelin*, imprimme a Paris 1507.

Bertrand, *dict le Roy, nous ſcavons bien, que vous eſtes hardy aux armes, heurex en batail, & ſi avez la grace du peuple de France; & pour ce que nous ſommes plainement informes de voſtre loyaulte & prud hommie, nous vous voulons monter en honneur & vous donner l' Office de Conneſtable de* France, *dont nous vous liurons l'eſpee pour garder & defendre noſtre royaume. Dont* Bertrand *remercia fort le Roy, mais dict* Bertrand, *Sir, ne pas doncques Conneſtable le Seigneur de* Fiennes, *qui eſt tant bon Chevalier?* Bertrand, *dict le Roy, Noſtre Couſin de* Fiennes *nous a bien ſervy, mais il eſt deſormais mault-vieil & foible, pourquoy il ne peult endurer la peine ny ſouſtenir le travail que convient a l'office, & ſi nous a rendue l'eſpee en vous recommendant par deſſus tous les Chevalliers de ce royaume,* &c.

This long digreſſion I hope will offend no honeſt man that loves *truth*, and deſires to have it vindicated from the ſlanders that malice and envie hath caſt upon it. I ſhall now return to the chaſe of this *Fox*, who runs up & down in a Sheepſkin, complaining of *want of Charitie and diſturbing the peace of the Church*, pronouncing that *thoſe who want Charitie, what other gifts ſoever they have, of preaching, prayer, tongues or ſciences otherways, all is nothing*; out of his own mouth let him be judged; in all this Pamphlet what doth he, but ſpread abroad, and caſt

lies and ſlanders upon all, to advance his Countrey-men? for when under the name of *ſome do thus*, and *ſome are practiſing that*, he leaves his lyes to be fixed by every man, according to his fancie, upon whom he will, like a deceiver keeping himſelf in generals, no man is free; if he ſhould name the men in particular, his *manifeſt truths* (as he calls them) would evidently appear to be manifeſt lyes, invented to carrie on their deſign that ſet him on work; and who they were, and what their work was, may appear by what he is ſo bold to blame them for not doing themſelves, that is, *that they did not caſt abroad Papers and Manifeſtoes to ſtir up the multitude, and inflame the Citie and rabble thereof againſt the Parliament*, which, after this Incendiaries Pamphlet firſt made uſe of, and *Cranford* ſent upon the Exchange to publiſh a moſt notorious lye (which he confeſſed, he was appointed by Mr. *Bayly*, one of the *Scots* Commiſſioners and a Miniſter, to do openly upon the Exchange) was by them done ſufficiently as all men know, and may appear by the Anſwers, which thereupon the Houſe of Commons thought neceſſarie to put forth to the Papers, which they had printed and ſpread about the Citie, in which papers they pleaded as much for the Kings uſurped Prerogative, againſt the Subjects juſt rights in this Kingdom, as they on the other ſide required we ſhould for them inſiſt upon it, that all they demanded ſhould be put into their hands, and taken out of the Kings, in their own Kingdom: this was a very ill practiſe in Statesmen; a great deal more ſuitable to the policie and charitie of ſuch a pedant as this; for them to admit and ſuffer ſuch a fellow to adviſe them to take ſuch a courſe, to practiſe it, after he had taken the boldneſs, and manifeſted the impudencie to reprove them for not doing it ſoon enough, was no way becoming their perſons and conditions, or preſent truſt and imployment, and ſo will every wiſe man judge, that ſhall read in this Pamphlet, how they are Schooled and Tutored by this Pedogogue, and conſider and compare their practiſe with it afterwards in this particular. This I have here the rather inſiſted upon, that I may not be troubled to take notice of every Leſſon he reads them, as ſoon after he doth, for *the companie they admitted into privacie with them, for which*, he ſaith, *they were laughed at:* for ſuffering ſuch a fellow, or ſetting him on work to write ſuch a ridiculous ſtorie as this is, they might indeed be much more worthy to be laughed at, and ſure to gain neither credit nor advantage by ſuch tales.

But to come to ſome particulars, he inſtanceth in; For that of *our low eſtate things being almoſt*, he ſaith, *in deſpair*, a fiction of his own brain, which he ſtill dreſſeth up like a poor indigent beggar, and brings upon the ſtage, when he would have it believed, that pure neceſſitie and fear, made us call for the help of the *Scots*, and make the world believe, what great aſſiſtance they gave us, which what it was the world well knoweth, and we to our coſt found; this I will here paſs, having given anſwer to it before, neither will I trouble my ſelf with ſhewing what *thoſe wonders* were, which he ſaith, *they did*, and *ſtrange encounters theſe reſolute men* (as he terms them) *met withall at their firſt coming into the Kingdom, and made their way through them all*; I have alreadie ſhewed, that if we had not been in a better condition than his ignorance or falſhood reports us to be in, able not onely to defend our ſelves without them, but to bring them through thoſe difficulties they met withall, they had ſtuck in the birth, and not been delivered from the Lord *Newcaſtles* Armie and the Countreys oppoſition. I will come to thoſe paſſages, wherein according to his cuſtome under the name

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of *ſome*, he ſnarls and bites at nameleſs perſons, caſting thereby aſperſions upon whom he pleaſeth, or you that read him pleaſe to fix them; this is ſlander without limit, for it may be *any ſome* you pleaſe to imagin; it is very likely, if you aſk him whom he would have you underſtand thoſe to be, that he ſets forth by the name of *ſome*, he will tell you, thoſe who will not fall down and worſhip *his Diana, the Government of the Kirk, as it is ſettled in* Scotland, nor take that for the pattern ſhewed in the Mount, but diſpute, whether that be in all things according to the Word of God; theſe be the *ſome* which uſually he would have to be underſtood, and blaſted by this general term, and by the many tales he tels of ſuch, which if he ſhould applie to particular men, and name them, they would appear (as I have ſaid) tales ſo ridiculous and falſe, that his ſheep-ſkin would be pulled over his ears, and he appear, in his whole diſcourſe, ſuch as indeed he is, his ends and aims in it being diſcovered. *while the Parliament was thus low*, he ſaith, *many faint hearted, yea Members of the two Houſes run away to the Enemie:* here that which he adds (*Members of the two Houſes*) is a ſufficient Character to make it appear who they were, and thereby make the aſſertion capable of trial, whether true or falſe; had he done ſo in all the reſt, he might have been juſtified, if that he had ſpoken of them had been truth, and none could have juſtly condemned him for it; but the cauſe he alleageth of their going, was, as before, to ſerve his own turn, being made *our low eſtate and their faint-heartedneſs thereupon:* 'twas rather their ambition, hope of preferment, or it may be, in ſome affection, or conſcience not being rightly informed nor ſatisfied, in reſpect of the cauſe of this War, and taking up of Arms thereupon (for charitie, whereof I would this diſcourſer had one grain, ought to judge and hope the beſt in things capable thereof) ſome of theſe, and not our low eſtate and their fainting thereupon, is more truly to be made the cauſe, but that ſerves not his turn to ſet forth his Countrey-mens high ſervices, which he muſt ſerve, and will in all; yet that this is ſo, appears by the ſtaying of many of them in the Houſes long after that time, and therefore it was not fear that drave the reſt away: he adds *others did withdraw to their eternal ſhame, ſtudying to make their peace more plauſibly with the Enemie, and not to run over to him, at diſcretion, as others had done:* here he ſhoots his bolt, and it may light upon whom you liſt to place it; if you will be as void of charitie as this diſcourſer is, any man, who at that time had occaſion to go to his houſe, and ſtay there for ſome time, for the diſpoſing of his private buſineſs, he ſhall be made one of theſe others, whom he brandeth with this uncharitable cenſure, that *they withdrew themſelves for ſuch an end, to trinckle with the Enemie for making their peace;* Let him produce the man or men that did ſo, and his proofs, otherwiſe let him be taken, as he deſerves, for a ſlanderer: would he like it well, that other men ſhould apply *this trinckling with the Enemie to make their Peace,* to whomſoever they think fit, as he himſelf takes a libertie to do, without any ground but his own evil thoughts? ſome men (to uſe his own phraſe) will apply it to the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, and believe they have better ground for it, than any he can produce for this his ſlander, as appears by *Digbyes* letter to *Jermin*, wherein *he deſireth him to aſſure the Queen, that he would manage the Treatie which he had entertained with ſome of the* Scots *Commiſſioners, in ſuch a manner as ſhould be for the Kings advantage, and deſireth that ſhe would no way doubt of it;* to this purpoſe, the Letters themſelves may be conſulted, lying in the Committees hands; let this man, who is ſo readie

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to judge others out of his own evil thoughts, bring forth such an evidence as this, against any one of those others whom he thus aspersеth: they that shall be offended at this, may thank their Incendiarie, who leads the way and provokes hereunto all along; had he better ruled his lying and malicious pen, many things had been passed over in silence, which he hath brought forth to light, to their little advantage, who, it may be, set him on work; at least to magnifie whom, with disgracing others to that end, is the thing aimed at in the whole work: I will pass over (as I have said) his vain historie, of *his Countrey-mens coming into the Kingdom, their hinderance by Sectaries, and when they had done such wonders, how some at* London, *not of the meaner sort, sought by whispering against them to cloud their glorie, and when* Selbie *was taken* (which he will needs attribute to the *Scots* coming in) *some said we had now no need of them*; these things, with what he speaks also *of some, who would not have had* Manchester *joyn with them*, & when he was joyned, of *one* (but what one? the man in the moon) *sent*, as he saith, *to sow the seeds of division amongst them, and after a while the same design set on foot again, by a Partie, some of those who are opposite to the settled* Government *of the Church*, that is forsooth, the Government of his Kirk; and now you have him beginning to manifest who those *some* are he chiefly spits all his venom at: all these tales and stories of men without name, of things without proof, I cast away, as every wise and judicious Reader will do, easily perceiving by these, what was the mans aym, and end in all the rest of those fictions, which he stuffeth his pamphlet with; and indeed well may these give a light unto the rest, and discover of what credit they are.

But there is *one storie* here begun, and a little afterwards taken up again by him, which I will not pass by, the impudencie and falshood thereof is so notorious to every one that knoweth the business and passages of that time; and that is, *of some men*, (he calls them *of that partie* which he indeed desireth most of all men, by his lies to blemish, and lessen the reputation of, if he could) *who at first*, he saith, *did constantly and frequently court the* Scots, *and thereby so take them up, that they alone were admitted to privacie with them; for which* he will needs make *the* Scots *to be laughed at*, and according to his manner, begins to lesson, and school them for it: that which he will have to be *the cause, why these men made their application to the* Scots *Commissioners, at their first coming into the Kingdom*, must be *the recoverie of their credit*, which he must therefore make to be *diminished*, and invent some tale for that purpose, as *the lost in the west*; and *this*, he saith, *their intimacie with the* Scots, *did greatly advantage them to do, because many gave way unto them, when they saw them so intimate with the* Scots *whom they knew to have no by-ends; by this complying with the* Scots *Commissioners* (*whom*, he saith, *they courted for their own ends, for had it been for the publick, the* Scots *always remaining constant to their point* (*though not with that vigour*, this Incendiarie could have *wished*) *they would not have changed, but having obtained their ends, they leave them, and point-blank oppose them*) *by this help* (if his lies may be credited) *they chiefly raised their height of reputation and opinion amongst men.* Here you have, in his own words, put together out of divers places treating of this subject, this invention of his, wherein as there are many particular falshoods, so of the whole it may be truely said, *Cujus contrarium verum est*; for this Gamester, to deceive, hath turned the Tables: turn them again and you shall have the game lie right before you. The *Scotch* Commissioners at their first coming

coming into *England*, finde these men, whom this fellow will make to be crest-fallen in their reputations (one of his particular falshoods) to be in highest esteem and power in the Houses of Parliament, for their known fidelitie to the publick, and abilitie to do service thereunto, so little need had they of such props, as the *Scots*, to hold up their reputation; hereupon the *Scots* apply themselves chiefly to them, and fall into intimacie with them, as conceiving that to be the best means for them to prevail in what they should desire in both Houses: This correspondencie they held with *these leading men*, or *rulers of affairs* (as he sometimes names them, complaining withall, that *Sectaries prevailed too much with them*) untill they found, they could by no means lead them from making The defence of the known just Rights, and Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, and Priviledges of Parliament (the Supream Court therein) the cause of their taking up of Arms; and in stead thereof, change the state of the quarrel, into a contention about the establishing of their Kirk Government here in *England* (as if the Parliament either had, or could justifie the taking up of Arms and fighting with the King, upon such a ground) these worthy Patriots would never be drawn to this, to wave the just *quarrel*, the Parliament had ingaged the people and themselves in; which was *the defence of the Laws, and their own Liberties established by them, with the Priviledges of the Supreamest, and inferiour Courts of Justice, wherein those Laws were to be made, and Justice administred according to them, and no Delinquent protected against them*; all the compliance of the *Scots Commissioners* and *courting of them, till it was*, as the School-master tells them, *ridiculous* to others, would not prevail to bring them, in stead of this, to make the setling up of their *Church-Government* in this Kingdom, and the taking of a *Covenant*, in such a *sence* as they would put upon it, the quarrel to be insisted upon, and this Kingdom kept in troubles for, without setling a safe peace, if all other things conducing thereunto should be granted, except *this Idol of theirs* might also be advanced: *that this was the true cause of the falling off of the* Scots *Commissioners, from those men*, whom at first they had entertained with so much shew of friendship and intimacie, *this Discourser of theirs* doth not deny, but calls it *the first and main occasion*; onely to serve his turn, he turns it upon the other side from his Masters, and then *more suo* declaims against Sectaries, and Schismaticks; as if all men were such, who will not readily come and bow down before this Golden Image of his; then ignorantly, or willfully, still interprets the Covenant so, as if thereby we were obliged so to do, and that the word of God were not the Rule. To clear this point a little more fully, let it be observed, who they were that the *Scots* Commissioners took by the hand and entered into privacy and intimacy with, after they fell off from these good Patriots, men known to be faithfull and constant in their integrity, to maintain the just Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and to seek the publick good of the Kingdom, the true cause in which the Parliament was ingaged; and it will be found, that they were *those, who*, both in the two Houses of Parliament and in the Citie, *carried on the Court designs*, such as had fallen off from a vigorous fierceness against the Court in the Parliaments first engaging, and afterwards manifested such a compliance therewith, and such an alteration in their way, as was observed by all men; with these now they had their *private meetings*, it was known *when* they were at their Consultations, and Cabals, and the houses *where* they met; sometimes at this Court-Ladies house, sometimes at that Court-Ladies Chamber, for

their meetings were often, and the active Ladies for the Court, the great Sempronia's of the time, were admitted into Council, yea, sought after, together with my Lord of *Holland* and others, who were of the same intelligence, and these were seldom absent: these things being so known, that they cannot be denied without impudent falshood, let all unprejudiced men judge, who they were that for their own private ends and interests, changed Company, and what those ends were likely to be, which this Company, last made choice of, would better suite with and promote, than the former company that were quitted and left; by this also it may appear, at what an easie rate they would have been contented to pass away into the Kings hands, and subjected to his usurped Prerogative, our just Rights and Liberties, which we defended with the expence of so much Treasure and blood, and they by their League were bound to assist us for the establishment of, could they thereby but have been assured to settle things, according to their own wills, in their own Kingdom, & their Kirk-Government in this, by complying with the Court, and caballing with all the Court partisans in Parliament and Citie; the former Company were fit indeed to be left, when such designs were to be set on Foot. But that which of all other things makes their intentions, in these particular carriages, and shifting of Companies, most apparent, was their desire of a conference with the Houses of Parliament, their carriage in that conference, and their subsequent actions in pursuance thereof, at that time when the four Bills were to be sent to the King at the Isle of *Wight*: The Houses of Parliament, though they had then advantage enough, having all in their hands and under their power, yet that they might make it appear to all the World, that they sought no other thing, but to enjoy their just Rights and Liberties by the Laws established unto them, and that they might be secured in the enjoyment of them, and justified in standing in the defence of them, resolved to settle the Peace of the Kingdom, to bring the King to his Throne and Parliament again with Honour, to put an end to War and all the burthens and unhappy consequences thereof, if these substantial and absolutely-necessary things alone might be granted; for other things in difference, which were not essential to the enjoyment of our known Rights and Liberties and security therein, the Houses resolved, these being first granted, and the King thereupon come to his Parliament, they should be considered of and transacted between the King and his two Houses of Parliament in a Parliamentary way; upon this four Bills were drawn up, and passed both Houses, in which those things onely were contained, that might secure us for the future in our Liberties (considering what we had before undergone) and justifie our Lawfull, and necessary standing for them, that all questions for the time to come concerning the same might hereby be taken away; these Bills passed and reduced into Acts, upon the Kings giving his assent to them by Commission, he was presently to come to *London* to his Parliament, an evidence to all posterity, and to all the World, of the just and sincere intentions of the two Houses of Parliament according to their Declarations and Protestations from the beginning, and that no successes, or advantages put into their hands, could alter them from the same: when this was thus concluded, the *Scotch* Commissioners interpose and desire they may be heard, in a free conference between both Houses & themselves, whereby first they spend a great deal of time, and thereby retard the sending these Bills to the King; next they oppose what was desired in the Bills, wherewith they had nothing to do,

nor

nor no right to intermeddle with in this Kingdom, yet they did it with that violence, and in that manner pleaded for the Kings uſurped Prerogative againſt our juſt Rights and Liberties (whereof they had no cognizance, nor capacity to judge, and ill enough would they have taken it, if we ſhould have made our ſelves Judges of the Subjects Liberties and Rights in their Kingdom) that, as I have touched before, they were told by a Noble man at the Conference, that the Commiſſioners for the King at *Uxbridge*, or the Kings Attorney himſelf would not have ſpoken more: all this will fully appear by the Anſwers, which the Houſe of Commons publiſhed to their printed Papers which they had ſpread about, which Anſwers, it may be, I ſhall annex to the end of this Diſcourſe, for the Readers fuller ſatisfaction, and that the four Bills contained nothing but what I have expreſſed, will therein appear; and indeed to every knowing man, the reading of the Bills themſelves will evidence it, and the anſwers of the Houſes to the *Scotch* Papers will ſhew, that the onely ſtay of the Kings coming to a perſonal Treaty at *London* with his Parliament was, becauſe he would not firſt give this ſatisfaction deſired. For the *Scotch* Commiſſioners (after that *Louden* and *Lanerick*, being newly come out of *Scotland*, had ſpoken privately with the King) did vehemently preſs, by their Letters and Papers, that the King might come to *London* to a Perſonal Treaty there, before any Propoſitions ſent unto him, or theſe Bills paſſed by him; though the ſame men before (whereby you may perceive who did ſhew themſelves ſhifters and changers) had in their Orations and Letters denied it to be juſt, or ſafe, for the King to be admitted to *London*, or to any perſonal Treaty with the Parliament, untill he had firſt given ſatisfaction and ſecurity to the people. The Houſes of Parliament would not therefore, notwithſtanding their Orations at the Conference, and their Papers ſpread abroad about the Citie, conſent to the Kings coming to *London* to a perſonal Treaty, before any ſatisfaction, or ſecurity firſt given, in their anſwers to the *Scotch* Papers giving their reaſons for it; but drew up the four Bills, as I have ſaid, and ſent them to the King, that, paſſing them, he might come up and ſettle other things, being in perſon with his Parliament; and this will more manifeſtly appear by their Declaration and Votes paſſed upon the 17 of *January*, after the King had ſent his denial to paſs thoſe four Bills, whereby ſome ſecurity might have been given of his coming, with intention to agree with his Parliament, for the ſettling of the Rights and juſt Liberties of the Subjects; which Declaration I will here ſet down.

The Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, after many addreſſes to his Majeſtie, for the preventing and ending this unnatural War, raiſed by him againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, having lately ſent four Bills to his Majeſtie, which did contain onely matter of ſafetie and ſecuritie to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the compoſure of other differences to a perſonal Treatie with his Majeſtie; and having received an abſolute Negative; do hold themſelves obliged to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, ſpeedily to ſettle the preſent Government, in ſuch a way, as may bring the greateſt ſecurity to this Kingdom in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof. And in order thereunto, and that the Houſes may receive no delay nor interruptions in ſo great and neceſſarie a work, they have taken theſe reſolutions and paſſed theſe Votes following, &c.

But their ſubſequent actions, in purſuance of this Conference, were worſt of all; for when they had printed their long Orations, made againſt the Subjects juſt Rights, and to advance the Kings Prerogative, and ſpread them about the Citie, that their Court-party, with whom they had their Cabals frequently, might take notice of their activity this way, and the King himſelf alſo; not content with this, when they ſaw the Houſes would not be removed from their reſolution of ſending theſe Bills, and making this offer unto the King, of an agreement upon terms ſo juſt and reaſonable (though, as I have ſaid, all then was in their hands, and the Kings own perſon) they go down into the Iſle of *Wight* unto the King, a little before the Houſes ſend their Commiſſioners with the Bills unto him; and he muſt needs be a very weak and ſimple man, that cannot gueſs at their buſineſs, and imagine what errant they went upon, conſidering their proceedings before they went with the Houſes of Parliament, and the anſwer the King returned to the Houſes, which was a flat denial, pretending it was meet for him firſt to conſult with his Kingdom of *Scotland:* For is it imaginable, that the King, in the condition he was, would have refuſed to come to his Parliament and be ſet upon his Throne, and his Kingdom ſetled in peace, upon no other terms, than ſuch as might ſecure the Subjects, to enjoy the Laws and be governed by them and not by will? whereas afterwards he yielded and condeſcended to grant thoſe things, which were of a far higher nature, than what theſe Bills required; had he not been encouraged thereunto by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who went of purpoſe in the nick of time unto him, and could let him know by their intelligences (kept from time to time, and eſpecially obſerved at that time, with the principal leaders of the Court-party, in and about the Citie, as my Lord of *Holland* and others, and no doubt with thoſe in their own Kingdom, not being ignorant of proceedings there) what aſſiſtance he might expect from *Scotland*, and from the Citie and Countreys adjacent; all which ſoon after appeared, by the coming in of an Army out of *Scotland* under *Hambleton*, and by the riſings of the Countreys near *London* under *Holland* and *Goring*, expecting the party in the Citie would riſe and joyn with them; the breaking forth of all theſe not long after may give us juſt ground to ſuſpect, it was the hope of this given unto him, which made the King ſo peremptory at that time in refuſing the juſt and moderate deſires of his two Houſes of Parliament, and the Correſpondencies, Conſultations, and frequent Cabals, which paſſed between the *Scotch* Commiſſioners and *Holland*, one of the chief heads of the Inſurrections, and with the reſt of that party, moſt obſerved (as I have ſaid) at that time, may well make us think what Agents they were in theſe buſineſſes, when they went down purpoſely to oppoſe the paſſing of thoſe four Bills by the King, as they had before, all they could, the ſending of them unto him. This act of theirs, as it was one of the worſt, ſo of the laſt, wherewith they took their leaves, and time it was to be gone after an action ſo unſeaſonable, ſo unhappy, for which this Kingdom, and their own, yea, it may be the poſterities of both will have juſt cauſe to wiſh (if no worſe) that they had never ſet foot on *Engliſh* ground; For had the King at that time paſſed thoſe four Bills, a Peace had been ſetled, ſafe and juſt to the Subjects, as Honorable to himſelf, and all troubles and confuſions ended, which, when they will now end, the Lord onely knoweth: theſe things being known to all men who underſtand the affairs of that time, with the ſeveral paſſages thereof, *let the World judge*, as I have

ſaid,

ſaid, *who* they were that *ſhifted ſides*, and *for what ends they did it*, and what were *the principles* and *the point*, which he ſaith *the* Scots *kept themſelves conſtant unto?* if this were their *point*, to oppoſe and overthrow the ſettlement of a Juſt Peace in this Kingdom, except they might intereſt themſelves and their Nation, in the Government thereof, and ſtrengthen and confirm the ſame once obteined, by bringing in their Kirk-Government alſo, and enſlaving us thereunto, which appeared to be aymed at by ſome propoſitions they formerly made (as I take it) at *Uxbridge* Conference, in the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and oppoſing now this Settlement, becauſe the Kingdom of *Scotland* is not ſatisfied; Then, I ſay again, let all men judge, whether this Diſcourſer, to palliate and paint over the by-ends and intereſts, and falſe juggling carriages and double dealings of his Maſters, have not taken up and proſecuted this Diſcourſe, to aſperſe & leſſen, if he could, the reputation of thoſe men, who could not be drawn to quit the publick intereſt of this Kingdom, and joyn in a Faction, to promote the advantages that theſe men ſought to make for their own Kingdom, upon the condition, and preſent diſtraction they ſaw us in? The falſe colours, and fooliſh tales, which he muſt invent for this purpoſe, as the loſs of their eſteem with the people in reſpect of miscariages in the Weſt, is known to be a ridiculous Fiction of his ferril brain that way; for what had theſe men to do in the buſineſs of the Weſtern parts, more than any other of the Parliament? This is *one of his myſteries*, a myſterie of iniquitie, whereof he hath too many; for ſuch I account all lyes and ſlanders caſt upon honeſt men, to carry on the better thoſe deſigns, which his partie had, for their own particular intereſts to the prejudice of the publick, that they knew and found theſe men would oppoſe, and therefore the main endeavour all along is to blaſt them, and leſſen their eſteem, as by theſe lyes and deviſes they hope to do, at leaſt (as he uſeth to term them) with *the ſimpler ſort*; A very ſimple ſort of men indeed they muſt be, in reſpect of the knowledge, not of *the myſteries of the times*, which is his phraſe, but of the ordinary affairs of the time, who cannot diſcern the true face of things, from theſe falſe paintings and daubings of his, whereby he ſeeks to abuſe thoſe, whom he would fit and prepare for Tumults and inſurrections againſt the Houſes of Parliament, and the beſt affected men therein, hoping by ſuch a means his partie may be advantaged to carry on their deſigns, notwithſtanding any oppoſition; and nothing diſcovers the mans mind herein more clearly, than *the myſterie* he tels you of in the 52 page (a myſterie framed in his own brain) *that the removing of the* Scots *Commiſſioners from the Citie to Worceſter Houſe, was not for their convenience, although ſo given out, but by the cunning of ſome men, to weane them from the Citie, and take away their intimacie with their friends there, becauſe they feared they could not carry on their buſineſſes, if the* Scots *continued intimate and familiar with the Citie.* Where, I pray, was this buſineſs to be carried on? in the two Houſes of Parliament; and what uſe will the *Scots* make of their friends in the Citie, to oppoſe and hinder that which ſhall be carried on in Parliament, wherein the Citie and whole Kingdom are involved, and ought therefore to acquieſce in their determinations? by this paſſage you may readily find what the man would be at, and what in his intention was to be promoted and practiſed for the furtherance of the good Cauſe in hand, that is his Kirk-Government, and how he is troubled that the opportunitie ſhould be taken away; which I verily believe was never thought of by thoſe that did it, but meerly the *Scots* conveniencie intended; for

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they had beter hopes then of their fair carriage, than to think there was need of such a devise as this, to prevent the contrarie: here you may find the Fox by his scent.

He comes now to *the Battle at Marston-moor*, for he keeps no method, either in respect of the order of things, or time wherein they were done, but takes them up as in his opinion they may best serve and be made use of, to asperse and calumniate those that are not of his Faction or oppose the same; and so we must follow him to pull off his vizards, though therein we pass to and again, from one end of the Pamphlet to the other. In this Relation he tels, *how Prince* Rupert *raised the Siege before* York, *and puffed up with that success, resolves to fight the united Forces:* then most foolishly, and most unseasonably (for it could not be worse timed) he will needs here insert, *that Prince* Rupert *thought, if the* Scots *should be once routed* (*whom this man will have to be the main Let to the Court-proceedings*) *then he should easily put an end to the design in hand*; he speaks of a blow given to those Forces, but the business is put principally upon the Rout of the *Scots*, most foolishly, as I have said, in this place of all others; for rout..d they were, and so wholly run away, that except *David Lesley*, and some horse with him, which were placed behind the Regiments of Horse under *Cromwell*, and the Lord *Lindsie's* Regiment of Foot, which was joyned with the Lord *Manchesters* Foot Regiments, there was very few, if any one *Scot* left in the Field, that could tell what became of that days Fight, they made such haste away; and their General, a man of great experience and worth, gave the day for lost, in such manner, that it was the next day, before he knew what became of the Battle; therefore you may be sure, the *Scots* were routed, and sufficiently routed, so that if all had depended upon them, as this foolish Braggadochio will still give it out, all had been lost, and an end put indeed to the design in hand in all likelihood: I write not this out of a design to disgrace any, but the folly of this fellow puts me necessarily upon it, which otherwise I had not touched at all; his unseasonable Romance-like extolling of the *Scots*, throughout this discourse, made for that purpose, turns to their disadvantage: In speaking soon after, of their taking *New-castle*, he confesseth *their running away at Marston-moor*, when he hopes to make amends for it, by relating what valour they shewed there: In his storie of this Battle (which for his end, that is, the magnifying of his Countrey-men, it had been better for him to have skipped over) that he might extol *David Lesley* (a man whose worth needs not his lyes, and impudent shameless detractings from the worth of other men, and their known services that day, to help set forth the same, neither can a man, who knows true worth, endure it) he tels such *an infamous lye of* Cromwell (for that is the man his Presbyterian spleen, in every place where he comes near him, riseth up and bursts forth against) as that I think *David Lesley* himself hath so much Honor in him, that he will give him the lye in it, and rather spit in his face, than thank him for it. The thing is so notoriously false, and known to be so to all that were present and not run away before the turn of the day, that it is probable, be heard this tale of some of his Countrey-men, whose heels had carried them so far from the place, that they could see neither man nor action upon the same, nor tell how the scales came to be turned: his words are, *that those of the partie, he spake of a little before, to indear themselves to the people* (poor fellow, they needed no lyes like his to do that) *attributed to themselves the Honor of the day, and did not stick to call one of theirs*, THE

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SAVIOUR OF THE THREE KINGDOMS, *when God knoweth* (for he will take the name of God in vain to countenance a lye) *he, that they there did extol so much, did not at all appear in the heat of the busines, but having at first a little skar, kept off till the worst was passed:* then he adds, *this had not been spoken at all, if some idle men, to gull the world, had not given the honor of the day to those, who had but little or no share in it.* Can there be a more palpable gross lye than this, his own Countrey-men (those who staid in the Field) being Judges, whether we respect *Cromwell*, the man he means, or the Regiments of Horse commanded by him, which are those, he will have, to have little or no share in the honor of that day? it is well known to all that were present, and by their report to all other, who are not willing to believe lyes, rather than receive what is true, that both the General of the *Scots* Armie, and also the Lord *Fairfax*, gave the day for lost, and so lost, that the one stayed not till he came to *Hull*, the other, as is said, went further from the place where the Battle was fought, before he made a stay, and as it is reported by those that were present, at least 10000 ran away, most of the *Scotch* Armie, if not all, but those I formerly mentioned, were run out of the Field, and the day theirs in the Enemies opinion that were on that side the Field, as also in the opinion of ours, both Generals and Soldiers, who thereupon left the Field: when things were brought into this condition, it pleased God to use, as instruments under him, *Cromwell*, who Commanded them, and the Regiments of Horse that were in my Lord of *Manchesters* Armie, to give the turn, win the day, and take the Victorie out of the enemies hands. This was the Lords doing, to whom belong the issues of War, and it was indeed a mervailous mercy; and these were the instruments he was pleased chiefly to use therein, which he, that out of envie will not acknowledge, but rather, as this man doth, belye and disgrace, is not onely false and injurious towards man, but opposeth God by disliking that choise which he thinks fit to make of Instruments, by whom he will please to work and give deliverance. Now, as for that which concerneth *Cromwell* himself, *that he did not appear at all in the heat of the busines, but for a little skar kept himself off, till the worst was past*; what man is there, *English* or *Scot*, that hath either worth or honestie in him, who was present, that will not abhor such an envious, malicious falshood as this, fit to be fathered by none but the father of lyes himself? for it is known, that *Cromwell* charged in the Head of those Regiments of Horse in my Lord *Manchesters* Army, which Horse he Commanded, and with those Regiments brake all the Regiments of the Enemies Army, first the Horse, and after that the Foot, and that he continued with them, untill the victory was fully obtained (yea, and the Psalm of praise for it sung to God, to whom alone the Glory was due) commanding all the while they charged, and taking special care to see it observed, that the Regiments of Horse, when they had broken a Regiment of the Enemies, should not divide, and, in pursuit of the Enemie, break their order, but keep themselves still together in bodies, to charge the other Regiments of the Enemy, which stood firm, and were in bodies both of Horse and Foot; by this wise direction and order, which himself was present to see observed, his Regiments at last brake the Enemies Regiments, all, first the Horse, then the Foot; and herein indeed was the good service which *David Lesley* did that day, with his little light *Scotch* Nags (for such they were then, and not such as afterwards they made them out of Sr. *John Fenwicks* breed, and our best Northern Horse, for which they at their pleasure would exchange

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their *Scotch* little Courſers when they came into thoſe parts) I ſay, in this he did very good ſervice, that when a Regiment of the Enemies was broken, he then fell in, and followed the chaſe, doing execution upon them, and keeping them from rallying again and getting into Bodies, whereby *Cromwell* with his Regiments had the better means and opportunity, keeping firm together in Bodies, to fall upon the other Regiments which remained, untill they were, one after another, all broken and routed both Horſe and Foot: the Enemies Horſe, being many of them, if not the greateſt part, Gentlemen, ſtood very firm along time, coming to a cloſe fight with the Sword, and ſtanding like an Iron Wall, ſo that they were not eaſily broken; if the *Scots* light, but weak Nags had undertaken that work, they had never been able to ſtand a charge, or indure the ſhock of the Enemies Horſe, both Horſe and men being very good, and fighting deſperately enough. I appeal to the conſciences of thoſe that were preſent, if this be not the true Relation of that Battle for ſubſtance; and in theſe particulars, how God was pleaſed to turn the Day, by what inſtruments principally, together with the manner of it; which being ſo, let all men judge, whether in this, as all along in other things throughout this Diſcourſe of his, this man under the pretence of Religion, and ſtanding for Reformation, the good Cauſe in hand, and ſuch like ſpecious terms and Titles, hath not this for his end and aim, To advance the name and reputation of ſome who deſerved it not, and caſt aſperſions upon others (though never ſo falſe and known to be ſo) who are men beſt deſerving? and where he hath occaſion to give due praiſe to one of his Countreymen, as here to *David Leſley*, for doing good ſervice, yet he cannot do it, but that he muſt make advantage of it, to diſgrace and moſt falſely diſparage thoſe, whom *David Leſley* himſelf will confeſs, I believe, deſerved at that time beſt: and let men obſerve the end why this is conſtantly done by him, as they ſhall read over his Pamphlet (if they mean to trouble themſelves ſo much) and they will finde it to be, To weaken (if he could) the eſteem of *that partie*, as he calls them, which will not comply with his factious (and as he thinks fit they ſhould prove) tumultuous and ſeditious party; the ſeeds whereof, to promote his good Cauſe in hand, in theſe and other Papers ſpread abroad by him, he hath been very diligent in ſowing: this I touch here again, that by pointing the Reader to it once, or twice, I may leave it to himſelf, to obſerve hereafter in the Diſcourſe, as he ſhall finde it ſcattered up and down throughout the ſame, and ſtarted upon every occaſion; wherewith though I would not trouble my ſelf any more, having ſufficiently in that point diſcovered his intentions and pulled off his goodly Vizards, yet his ſlanders and falſhoods are ſo groſs, that I ſhall hardly ſatisfie my ſelf to paſs them by in ſilence.

After this diſcourſe of the Battle at *Marſton-moor*, he comes to ſpeak of *the ſiege and ſtorming of New-Caſtle*, and this muſt not paſs plainly without welt and guard, but be ſet forth with Relations of the *valour of his Countrey-men in taking the Town, and juſtice and fair carriage in the uſing of their ſucceſs and victorie*; indeed he may ſet a mark upon this exploit, and lace it over, and bedaub it with his accuſtomed extolling and magnifying of all their actions; for as it was the firſt, ſo it was the laſt and onely Town that they ſtormed; as this Battle before ſpoken of, was the firſt and the laſt and onely ingagement of their whole Army, which it is known they never did, nor would ingage againſt an Army of the Enemies, without the conjunction of ſuch a Force of ours with them, as was

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ſufficient to do the work without them, as in effect was done here in this Battle. Two things concurring in the taking of this Town of *New-Caſtle*, the profit it yielded in reſpect of the Coals, and the conveniencie thereof for their ends, put them upon doing more than was their uſual cuſtom, or as it ſeemed their intention upon any other occaſion, while they were here in this Kingdom to aſſiſt us, as appeared when they were before *Hereford*, and as will appear afterwards in other things when we come to ſpeak of them: but let us hear his brags, they are ſo Romance-like, that they do his Countrey-men no advantage, but rather make men think all the reſt are lies too, and of the ſame ſtuff with theſe: Firſt he tells us of eight *men of theirs, that of themſelves alone routed two Troups of Horſe*; if he would have been a little bolder, and ſaid they had routed an Army of the Enemies, then we ſhould have thought the Knight of the Sun and his Brother *Roſacleer* with their Companions had been alive again: after this he will needs have *the very ſame men, who ran away at* Marſton-more, to be the men who *gave the aſſault, ſtormed the Town, and take* New-Caſtle, that he may ſhew his care and ſkill in binding up the broken credit of his Countrey-men; indeed if they all ran away at *Marſton-more*, it muſt needs be the ſame men. For *their fair carriage in wronging no Man, Woman, or Childe*, when they had taken the Town and made themſelves Maſters of it, which he much inlargeth, I will leave it to the relation of the men of thoſe Northern parts, what their carriage and demeanor was, both there and elſewhere amongſt them, much whereof may be ſeen in that, which came up to the Parliament in Petitions and complaints from thoſe parts, remaining with the Clark amongſt the Papers in the Houſe of Commons, which this man it ſeems was not ignorant of, and therefore he provides a general and univerſal remedy for this diſeaſe, which grew very common in thoſe parts, and amongſt thoſe Northern people, Epidemical, after ſome time that the Army had been amongſt them; his remedy is, to tell you, that *theſe Northern people are all Malignants, ſuperſtitious and prelatical, not only the common people, but the chief of the Countries, yea, the Committee men whom the Parliament had intruſted*, therefore though complaints be ſent up to the Parliament from the people, that they are wronged in their perſons, in their wives, in their own houſes, in their goods, and that moſt ſhamefully, you muſt believe no ſuch thing, although it be confirmed by the Teſtimony of the beſt Gentlemen in thoſe Counties, or recommended to the Parliament, in the behalf of the poor people, by the men whom the Parliament have intruſted to take care of thoſe Countreys, for they are all Malignants, and he is much troubled, that any of them ſhould find any favourers: here you have a Catholicon, a Salve that cures any of thoſe ſores, if you will take it; let one of his Countrey-men plunder, or commit any villany, the moſt ſhamefull, as that at *Tickhill* about *Nottingham*, which, when Mr. *William Pierepoint* with ſome others were ſent thither by the Parliament, was complained off, and the Officers of the Army by theſe Gentlemen made acquainted with the complaint, the thing being very baſe, yet you muſt not believe Malignants in any thing againſt the *honeſt Scots*, who *ſtill keep themſelves to their point*, which point, if it were plundering; whatever he brags of their fair carriage, thoſe Northern Countreys will out of their own experience tell you it is too true.

The Winter declining, he ſaith, *the* Scots *diſpoſe themſelves to Field ſervice*;

for he will have the World believe they are very active, but the hinderances are always from us, and therefore he tells how *they were retarded by want of provisions coming to them, which they required in a varie moderate proportion*; then he enumerates the causes, *why the same came so late to them, that though at length the Rendezvous was appointed, the 25 of April, yet they could not stir till the first of May*: it was likely we should hear of *want of draughts* again, to draw them Southward, though they wanted none to run back Northward fast enough; for here he comes to that business again, which he had touched before, of the *Scots* Armies unexpected running Northward, when he told you of *a certain man* (himself forsooth) *that printed and spread abroad a Manifest by chance falling into his hands, which satisfied all men concerning this business*; where I have given answer unto it fully, and shewed the unworthiness and ill consequences thereof: but because he will needs go to painting and daubing it over again (whereof, it may well be, he knows there is need enough, notwithstanding his papers spread abroad, which he intitles *the* Scots *manifest*, as he tells you, for all the painting stuff in his shop will never be able so to wash over this foul business, as to make it look with a fair face, in the eyes of any understanding man who knows the true carriages of it) I will here also go along with him a little, to observe his skill and art in laying colours: In the first place, by thinking to set forth their great abilities, he tells us *what acts they would have done if they had been provided of draughts*, whose wheels would have run Southward as fast as Northward (as I have formerly said) and by this he confesseth, *all the mischiefs and evils that were done by the Enemy at* Leicester *and in the Countreys there abouts, came to past by their not marching Southward according to the directions of those they received Orders from so to do*, and whose orders they ought to have obeyed, as the Committees of both Kingdoms at *West-minster*, and the Committee with them upon the place; for *had they done so, these evils*, he said, *had been prevented*; so he makes them justly to be all charged upon them, as falling out because they ran contrary to order, and disobeyed Authority therein: This line was nothing skilfully drawn, nor to their advantage; for why did they not obey commands and follow directions? they said, old *Lesley* their General would have had them done it; but they suddenly and unexpectedly run Northward, never calling for draughts, nor staid for want of them; the Committee upon the place, who expected their present advance to *Darby*, as was appointed, never so much as knowing thereof, untill they were gone from the place a dayes march, though most falsely he saith here, *it was with their consent*; the falshood whereof the foolish man himself in the same place sufficiently discovereth, when he saith, *news was sent to the Parliament, by those whom they trusted in those Counteys with the management of their affairs, that the* Scots *were gone, no man know whither, and that the Parliament press to know what was become of them*: will any reasonable man think this could be so, if they had made this turn-about with the consent of the Committees, who were the men the Parliament intrusted with the management of their affairs in those parts? *Oportet mendacem esse memorem*: yea, this retrograde motion of theirs, wherein they did *Sustinere gradum Simeonis*, as they use to say in the Schools of *Non Proficients*, was so contrary to order and unexpected, that the *Scotch Commissioners* themselves professed, at the Committee of both Kingdoms sitting at *Darby-house*, that

they

they were as ignorant of it, as the reſt of the Committee, and did as much wonder at it; but deſired that they would ſuſpend their opinions, untill they might ſend to enquire the cauſe; which they did, and afterwards went ſome of them themſelves, it is likely to conſult how it might beſt be excuſed, whereupon comes this *Letter*, which he Prints in his Pamphlet, *from the General and two others, wherein they ſay, their going into* Weſtmerland *was neceſſarie, in regard of the intelligence they had received*; the ſame cauſe the man in this place alleadgeth, whereunto I have given anſwer before, a Tale, from I know not whom, of a *flying Army going through* Lancaſhire *into* Scotland, *which makes them flie ſo faſt backwards, that in four dayes*, notwithſtanding the difficulties of the way and want of draughts, *they are*, he ſaith, *from* Rippon, *upon the borders of* Lancaſhire *with the whole Army*; and if they had made ſo much haſte Southward at that time, wherein they would have had much leſs troubleſome wayes, and many more conveniencies in the way, a deſign, laid to end the War in all probability, beſides the ſaving of *Leceſter*, and the Countreys adjacent, had not been utterly overthrown, as I have formerly ſhewed: *when they came to the borders of* Lancaſhire, *they had intelligence*, he ſaith, *of the Enemies return back* Southward; it is not very probable, they ſhould run ſo far for ſuch an intelligence, upon no other ground, than ſuch a Tale, when no man knoweth of any ſuch Enemy that either went, or returned; he ſhould, and certainly would, if any ſuch had been, upon ſuch an occaſion as this, have named the Forces, and their Commander; but if the flying Army were returned, why did not the *Stats* Army preſently, ſeeing their errour, return? what made them not ſtay upon the Borders of *Lancaſhire*, when they finde the cauſe of their going thither, as they pretended, taken away, but go on ſtill forwards till they came to *Carlile*, and not rather made the ſame haſte back again, that they might make good the expectation that there was of their coming Southward, upon occaſions ſo important, and when they had received orders ſo to do? Here, when they are to return Southward, we ſhall hear of *want of proviſions and draughts* again; but where is that? not upon the Borders of *Lancaſhire*, where they know this fooliſh Fable, of a flying Army to go into *Scotland*, is nothing; that ſtayes them not, but they aſk it of *the Committees of* Cumberland *and* Weſtmerland, whom *they finde very ſlow and unwilling to provide them thereof*, he ſaith; what make they in *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland*? the man toucheth it very tenderly, and quickly paſſeth from it; *Carlile* was the buſineſs; and to help the matter, he would make the World believe, *the Committies were ſuch malignants and ſo falſe, that if the* Scots *had left* Carlile *then, whereunto they were near* (but why came they ſo near, I pray?) *the Enemy had kept it ſtill*: give me leave to deal with him, in this particular, in his own way, and to uſe his own phrales; Thoſe who look (as he uſeth to ſay) a little more deeply into the myſteries of things, find *two cauſes* of their not coming Southward to *Darby*, as they were ordered, at that time, though of ſo great concernment, that in likelyhood it had put an end to all the buſineſs; and of their willingneſs, rather to take an occaſion, but eſpecially ſuch a one as this of *Carlile*, to make ſuch haſte Northward: for the *firſt*, (what ever this Advocate for the *Scots*, his Countrey men to often inculcates of their fidelity in counſel, and activity in the field, Elogies moſt ridiculouſly heaped upon them, in the eyes of all that knew and obſerved their car-

riage in both, while they were in this Kingdom) it was observed that *their Custom* was, and *their Intentions* from thence gathered to be such, That they never would ingage their Army singly alone, with any considerable Forces of the Enemies, much less with his whole Army; except they might have such a conjunction of our Forces with theirs, as were sufficient to do the work without them; otherwise there would be a want of draughts, or some other impediment lie in the way, that they could not advance; neither did they ever ingage with the Enemy in a set Battle without this, as I have touched before; for that of my Lord *New-Castles* Forces at their first coming in, I have shewed, that he had his Army broken before, his Horse by my Lord *Manchesters* near *Horn-Castle* in *Lincoln-shire*, and his Foot worn out in besieging *Hull*; so that with what he had left, and gathered together out of those Countreys afterwards, he could onely skirmish with them, and take the advantages to oppose their advance forward into the Kingdom; which, had not our Forces come upon his back, and put him in fear of being inclosed between both, and losing *York* also, he had been likely enough to effect. *Their intentions* were observed to be, The keeping of their Army intire and unfoiled, and therefore they never did, nor would adventure the breaking of it, by ingaging without our Forces joyned with them, especially after they had run that hazard in the Battle of *Marston-moor*, and saw by experience what had become of their whole Army, if our Forces had not there been conjoyned with them: This was made apparent at the Committies of both Kingdoms sitting at *Darby* house, upon this very occasion I now speak to; for when the speedy advancing of the *Scots* Army Southward was much pressed at the Committee, considering the advantages we had then, if they accordingly would march up with speed; the *Scotch* Commissioners alleadge against it, *the want and weakness of their Army in respect* of Horse *in comparison of the Enemies Horse*; thereupon the Committee, to take away this Objection, ordered 2500 Horse and Dragooners, under the Command of *Vermuden*, to march to meet them, and come along with them, desiring the *Scotch* Commissioners to write to them, to hasten their advance according to order, which they did; but when these 2500 Horse had marched as far as *Nottingham*, to joyn with their Army, they were gone, none knew whether, nor upon what errant: the same fear also, of being put to ingage with the Enemy alone, without the conjunction of our whole Army, made *the* Scotch *Commissioners dislike, and*, as he saith, (whence he hath it I know not) *protest against our Armies besieging*, or rather as the truth was, lying before *Oxford*, to which I shall speak afterwards, but their own Army had freed them from this fear, for they were gone far enough out of danger: the true cause therefore that took off their wheels, when they should come Southward, and made them turn about so nimbly when they went Northward, was observed to be this, They understood, that *our Army at that time was to be cast into a new model, which the Parliament*, as this man confesseth, *had just reason to do, though he like not the manner of doing it:* they conceived that this was likely to cause so much distraction, and such divisions, that if they should march according to the orders they had received, and the agreement, that thereupon they had made with our Committees in those parts; the King, who had drawn his Forces out of *Oxford*, would have ingaged their Army to fight a Battle with him alone with their own Forces,

Forces, before our Armie could be in readineſs to take the Field, and march up to thejr aſſiſtance; now this they reſolved to prevent, and therefore ſuddenly and unexpectedly take this courſe of running 200 miles backward, whereby they were ſure to be out of Gun-ſhot, and have the buſineſs (as indeed it was) determined before their return. *Another* thing which might be uſed as an Argument to ſatisfie their partie, eſpecially thoſe of their own Countrey the better, in this unlooked for turn-about of theirs, was, That the Town of *Carlile* was then upon Treatie of Surrender to our Committees in thoſe parts; this being a ſtrong Town upon the borders of their Kingdom, on the one ſide, as *Barwick* was on the other, they intend to get it into their own hands, and keep it when they had ſo done, and therefore make haſte thither where our Committees being in Treatie with the Governor about the Surrender of the Town, they fall to Treat with him, and notwithſtanding the proteſtations of our Committees againſt the ſame, yet they grant them in the Town any conditions they will demand, ſo that the Town may be delivered unto them, which being done, they put a Garriſon of their own into it, and kept it, contrarie to the expreſs Articles of Agreement between the two Kingdoms, in the ſolemn League, which this Diſcourſer ſo often prattles of, & brags the *Scots* always kept themſelves conſtant unto? but what is become, I pray, of your *ſolemn League* and *Covenant* now? was this the *point* your *Scots* keep themſelves ſo conſtant unto, to keep our Towns out of our hands for their own advantages, falſifying therein their faith given in the Articles of Agreement between the Kingdoms, whereupon they were to come in to our aſſiſtance? This buſineſs of *Carlile*, the man afterwards makes a great deal of work to daub over, if it were poſſible, wherein, when we come to it, I ſhall ſhew his untempered morter, wherewith he would make up this breach of Faith, and heal the broken credit of his Countrey-men: In the mean time, theſe were conceived to be the true reaſons of this whirligig-buſineſs, ſo extreamly prejudicial to the preſent affairs of this Kingdom, as that it endangered all, but that the Lord in mercie ſtood by us, and ſaved us at *Naſeby Fight*, when *theſe our Deliverers* (as this moſt fooliſh fellow will ſtill hold them forth to the world to be, in this Lying Pamphlet made purpoſely for them) delivered us up to ſhift for our ſelves, and into the Enemies hands, if we had not been able, without them, to defend our ſelves, and maintain our cauſe againſt them: His Countrey-men took care to deliver themſelves, and therefore would be ſure to be far enough off, and near their own kingdom, into which they might quickly have ſtepped, if the Lord ſhould in this Battle, which was likely to decide and determin all, have caſt the Dye of War on the other ſide againſt us; but bleſſed be his name for ever, though man left us in greateſt danger, he forſook us not. The 2500 Horſe and Dragoons, which were ſent to the *Scotch* Armie, to encourage them to advance Southward and to aſſiſt them, when the *Scotch* Army was not to be heard of, after they had marched as far as *Nottingham* to ſeek them, came back very ſeaſonably a day or two before the Battle, where they did good ſervice; by which it appears clearly to all men, that the *Scots*, had they marched according to Orders given, and their own promiſes thereupon, might have been advanced further, and incloſed the Enemies either in *Oxford*, or out of *Oxford*, between the two Armies: here we have him at his uſual trade again, painting and colouring over theſe buſineſſes, which had ſo ſullied and

caſt dirt upon his Countrey-men and blaſted their reputations, that he confeſ-eth himſelf, *great murmurings did ariſe againſt them; and thus*, ſaith he, *the Scots were innocently traduced by Malignants*; they that ſpake truth of them and of their carriages in theſe buſineſſes, were indeed innocent, here by a miſtake, be-fore he is aware, he ſpake truth; he will have them *Malignants*, though they be *innocent*, if they ſpeak againſt the *Scots*; but it was indeed an innocent traducing, to ſlander them with a matter of truth: Now he brings forth his common ſalve, to which he flieth when he hath nothing elſe to ſay, that will ſerve the turn to cure the ſore, that is, they are *all Malignants & traducers that ſpeak any thing againſt the honeſt* Scots; before I anſwer in particular to what he alleadgeth in their defence, let it be obſerved, that *this is a threed which runs through the whole work*, hardly a piece without it, the diſcourſe for the moſt part conſiſting all along of complaints made againſt his Countrey-men, and his purgations of them, which what are they, but railings and deviſed tales, to ſlander thoſe men whom he conceives to have reported, or do believe the things complained of, though never ſo true and apparent; this you find almoſt in every leaf; we uſe to ſay, So much ſmoak is not without ſome fire, and certainly, they are reputed to be of no great innocencie, whoſe fame is ſo bad, that they ſtand in continual need of cõpurgators. Let us now ſee what the faults are, which they are charged with in theſe particulars, and how he clears them; *the Houſe of Parliament*, he ſaith, *preſs to know, what is become of the Scots, and why they had gone this unexpected way, why after ſo many earneſt calls and Orders for it, they would not march Southward*, the good of the publick ſervice ſo much requiring it? He will not here hold up his common buckler in defence, and ſay they are all Malignants, Heretickes, Schiſmaticks, and ſuch as love not the common cauſe of Religion; but when for the ſame things objected againſt the *Scots*, he will ſay this of other men, that in ſo uſing the *Scots*, they are to be ranked in the number of Malignants, and that they are neither honeſt nor faithfull to the cauſe; through their ſides, that complained but of the very ſame things the two Houſes did, he ſtrikes the two Houſes of Parliament as much, for their being unſatisfied with the carriage of the *Scots* herein: he had ſaid a little before, *they were Malignants and traducers who found fault with the* Scots, *for running back-wards, and leaving the whole burthen of the War upon the Forces of the Parliament in the South*; is not this the very ſame complaint, which he here ſaith the two Houſes make againſt the *Scots* for not coming Southward? therefore we ſee what, in his judgement, they are to be accounted; indeed hereby it may appear what account is to be made of thoſe baſe ſlanders, and falſe imputations, he every where caſts upon men of more integritie and ſinceritie a great deal, both in reſpect of Religion, and the common cauſe of juſt Liberrie, than thoſe he thereby labors to excuſe: yet the two Houſes of Parliament ſhall have another way found out to give them ſatisfaction, and to that end out comes his *Scotch Manifeſt* again, which, he ſaith, he had touched before; he had ſo, but this ſore muſt have the ſalve often applyed, and all too little to cure it, except in the minds of thoſe men who are of *his ſimpler ſort*, who underſtood nothing of the truth of their carriage in this buſineſs; for whatſoever he boaſts of *the ſatisfaction theſe Papers gave to the Members of the Houſe, who would hearken unto them*, (it may well be many knew them not worth hearkening unto) it ſatisfied no man of underſtanding, that knew, or had a true Relation made unto him of this unexpected and ſtrange

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countercourſe of theirs, ſtrange to the Houſes, to the Committees, yea to their own Commiſſioners, as they themſelves profeſſed. But I have anſwered it alreadie, where he before touched it, and whipped *the* Scotch *Commiſſioners* moſt Magiſterially, as there you may read, for *not uſing this practiſe* of his, *out of he knows not what prudential ſcrupuloſitie*, as here he ſaith, which this pedantical Stateſman accounts *their ſimplicite and fooleric*; reproving them again for *their fear to offend in Printing, and ſpreading abroad amongſt the multitude, thoſe things they had by Papers acquainted the Houſes withall, whereas if any thing were to be ſaid of them, although without ground, they muſt hear of it on the deafſide of the ear, & it muſt be in every bodies mouth:* what doth he mean? belike he would have them have a deaf ſide, and a deaf ear, when any thing ſhall be ſpoken of them, though never ſo true; but how falſe this is which he ſaith, may appear to all men in the dealing of the Houſes of Parliament with them, when the Letters taken in *Digbies* cabinet were to be Printed and divulged, for there being in ſome of thoſe Letters a relation (as I have ſaid before) of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners trinckling with *Digbie*, the Kings Secretarie; The Houſes ordered, that Mr. *John Cheeſley*, their Secretarie, ſhould have the peruſal of all the Letters, and put out ſuch things, as any way might reflect upon the *Scots* Commiſſioners, as that particular, and many other things, it may be, touched them to the quick, as we uſe to ſay: This was the carriage of the two Houſes towards them; on the other ſide, for *their modeſtie and fear to offend in Printing and publiſhing to the people what they had delivered into the Houſes of Parliament*, though never ſo bitter, and indeed ſcandalous complaints and invectives againſt their proceedings, which this man would make the world believe they were too backward in doing, out of that ſcrupuloſitie; the many Papers printed and publiſhed by them, and afterwards *John Cheeſley's* name ſubſcribed to them, to avow the act to be theirs, will teſtifie againſt them, to all that ſhall read thoſe printed Papers which they before had delivered into the Parliament, that there was little modeſtie, feer or ſcrupuloſitie in them, in this particular: for *the Malignants* he talks of, who ſought to hinder the printing of theſe Papers, and queſtioned the publiſhing of them, under the name of the *Scoteh manifeſt*, or rather that Libel (for ſo I may cal a nameleſs Paper disowned, as he ſaith himſelf, by the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, which, he ſaith, was a Copie of their Papers given into the Houſes of Parliament, (whether it was ſo or not, or with what additions, made thereunto by *him into whoſe hands it fell*, which no doubt was himſelf, he beſt knows) but the Malignants he ſpeaks of, were the Houſe of Commons, who queſtioned the Printer, and the publiſhing of thoſe Papers, and afterwards for this, and ſuch otherlike Paper practiſes of his, printing and ſpreading about Papers in the Citie, to abuſe the people, and ſcandalize the Parliament in a ſeditious way and manner, at laſt ſought after him and made him betake himſelf to his heels and run away: theſe alſo are thoſe he terms *lye-inventers*, though he would have his *ſimpler ſort* believe, he means not them, but ſome other malignants? but the Houſe it was, as I ſaid, that queſtioned the Printer, and this practiſe of his. Mr. School-maſter take the title of *Lye inventer* to your ſelf, it ſutes you beſt, and that out of an Author your boys are much verſed in, *rute Lepores, & pulpamentum quæris.*

Next he tels us, that *the Houſe of Commons think fit to ſend ſome of their number, to the* Scotch *Armie, to ſee how things went, and to haſten them Southward, who met*

them

them at Rippon, *and came with them to* Nottingham, *from whence returning to the Houſe, they acquainted them*, he ſaith, *with the truth of all things*: but you will be deceived, if you expect from him a true Relation of all thoſe things they then acquainted the Houſe with; he hath the art of preterition, when it ſerves to conceal his Countrey-mens foul diſorders, and baſe uſage of thoſe Countrey people, therefore you ſhall hear nothing, in their report to the Houſes, from him, of the complaints of the people againſt the *Scotch* Army, for plundering, or other ſoul abuſes of men & their wives in their own houſes, as the buſineſs of *Tickhil* before ſpoken of; nor that when theſe Gentlemen of the Committee, ſent by the Houſe, upon the complaints of the people to them, informed the Officers of the Armie of theſe ſhamefull abuſes, nothing would be done thereupon; this is *the ſtrict and exact diſcipline* he ſo fooliſhly boaſts of in other places; inſtead of this, he makes the Gentlemens report for them, ſetting forth *what a gallant Army they had ſeen of brave Commanders, luſtie Souldiers, able and readie to do ſervice*: but let that report made by theſe Gentlemen, whom the Houſe of Commons ſent, upon their return to the Houſe, be ſeen, and it will be found to be a report of another nature, than what this Lye-teller frames for them out of his own brain, and nothing to the *Scotch* Armies advantage, as hath been before touched, though the Houſe of Commons would not divulge it: this painter by his over-daubing, draws forth the true face of things, which they have little cauſe to thank him for, for whom he works: it would indeed have pleaſed honeſt men, if they could have found in the effects thereof for their aſſiſtance, any ſuch thing as this report, which he frames for the Gentlemen of the Committee, ſent upon their return; but this braverie, abilitie and readineſs to do ſervice, never appeared afterwards, and that the clean contrarie appeared at that time, is manifeſt, it being the occaſion of the Parliaments complaint, and of the ſending of theſe Gentlemen of their own number unto them: it is true, that the Parliament, though they were ſenſible enough of the overthrow and loſs of a deſign ſo well laid for that Summers ſervice, and that ſuch a diſſervice ſhould be accompanied with the taking of ſo conſiderable a frontier Town out of their hands, and keeping it from them, contrarie to all juſtice, and faith given, as if the former had not been ſufficient; yet thought it to ſtand with their wiſdom, for the preſent to diſſemble their reſentment of it, and paſſe it by, rather than make a quarrel about it: for the Kingdom having undergone ſo great a burthen, by the coming in of that Armie to our aſſiſtance, by the pay they received, and ſpecially by their Free-quarter and Plundering under pretence thereof, the Parliament thought it fit, to trie if they might be brought to give ſome aſſiſtance anſwerable thereunto in the future, which might recompence the little they had done for it before, and this diſſervice now done by them; therefore they were ſilent, and forbore to expoſtulate with them about this buſineſs, at the return of the Gentlemen, and upon their report, which what it was, is well enough known to Parliament men: This prudential proceeding of the Parliament, the man will needs interpret to be from a full ſatisfaction received by them, and is very carefull to make the world believe it, but he muſt get a world of his *ſimpler ſort together*, that can herein be abuſed by him, for to others it is well known what ſence the Parliament had of it: he cloſeth up all with *his common note*, which uſually followeth the excuſes he makes for his Countrey-men, and his magnifying of

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them in ſuch relations as he frames for that purpoſe; *that honeſt men were much contented and pleaſed with it, but that it did gaul and vex malignants of all ſorts*; here you have the burthen of the ſong. After this, up ſtarts again *the unexpreſſible difficulties this gallant Army ſtruggles with, for want of proviſions and carriages*, (the want of draughts, we know indeed, very good uſe hath been formerly made of) *and this*, he ſaith, *through the neglect of ſome, and malice of others, not of the meaneſt ſort*, and ſo hereby he makes himſelf a way for his uſual ſlanders, invectives, and lies againſt honeſt men, indeavouring to make the world believe, that *all the ſervice they have done, is nothing but a cloak to their ambition and covetouſneſs*: here you have his charity, which this ſardle of lies that he hath printed, is ſtuffed withall, and ſpecially then brought forth, when his Country-men are to be excuſed: is it not fit that ſuch a ſardle be ripped up, and the deceitfull wares therein diſcovered? but *he will leave off complaining of thoſe, who*, he ſaith, *are neither faithfull to the cauſe nor honeſt*; why what is the reaſon? He preſently tells you his reaſon, *becauſe they thus uſe the Scots*: the Scots muſt leave off to do that which needs your excuſes, before you will leave off your ſlanderous falſe ſurmiſes and invectives. Going on in his diſcourſe, and leaving his complaints (a very little while, as you will ſee) *he will clear*, he ſaith, *three things, firſt, about the monies, the* Scots *have received; ſecondly, proviſions; thirdly, the diſorders committed by them: for the firſt, he begins with giving an aſſurance, in the name of the* Scots, which boldneſs in undertaking for the *Scots*, and in their name, and for the whole eſtate of *Scotland*, what they will do, you may ſee in the 60 page, he ſaith there *to all this the* Scots *do declare truly*, &c. and likewiſe in that foul buſineſs of *Carlile*, while he is daubing it over, he undertakes what the whole State of *Scotland* will oblige themſelves unto: where is this mans Commiſſion, is he one of the Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*? or rather a Commiſſioner parramount over them all, he doth ſo often ſchool them, teach them their leſſons, for the better carring on the good cauſe in hand, and reprove them for their indiſcreet miſtakes, and ſcrupuloſities, and want of vigorous proceedings: Let him ſhew his Commiſſion, and his undertakings may be conſidered; otherways they are to be looked upon, as coming from a Pedagogue, who always is, as I have ſaid, the moſt forward-putting man in the whole Pariſh: in this very buſineſs, wherein he doth ſo confidently undertake in the name of *the Scots*, afterwards, he ſaith, *they are* (*or at leaſt ſhould be*) *willing unto it*; here is a fine undertaker, and hereby ſhews, what Commiſſion he hath for his bold undertakings: for the things themſelves, every wiſe man knoweth, ſuch a kinde of man as this knew no more of them, nor could ſpeak no more certainly concerning them, than he doth of the things he ſo boldly preſumes to undertake for; that is, either they were ſo, or at leaſt they ſhould be ſo, as he would have them to be; and therefore *he will tell you*, he ſaith, *in general*; with his undertakings, and his generals I will trouble my ſelf no farther, they are of equal credit: onely in this laſt particular, concerning *their diſorders*, he ſpeaks that which all the places where they came will give him credit in, *that they were no Angels of light*. The letter he ſets down from the General, and two others to the Committee, I have already ſhewed, how it is probable it was occaſioned, and drawn up, upon the *Scotch* Commiſſioners ſending down ſome of their company to the Army, to ſee what anſwer might be found out and given to the complaints of the Parliament, for their irregular Northern voyage,

wherein they ran counter ſo faſt, and this being then conſulted upon between them, was afterwards ſent up in this letter: After this letter of the Generals and two others, ſent to the Committee, which he ſets down and makes theirs, but may make it what he will himſelf, for where he ſhould have it, or the Copy of it, who knoweth, the reaſon in it, for their marching contrary to order, being no other, then his flying Army which they had intelligence of, a tale I have formerly ſpoken to; he now comes to a recapitulation, of what we have heard, & jumps from the midſt of the buſineſs back again to the beginning, and ſo muſt he that will follow him; that which he hath, in this part of his diſcourſe, which is worth taking notice of, I have before anſwered fully, as his invectives againſt *thoſe men, who*, he ſaith, *oppoſed the* Scots, *to whom they had formerly pretended friendſhip, for their own ends*, and *the cauſe of it*, which he will have to be, *they liked not his Kirk-Government, which falſly he ſtill aſſumeth*, and would have the world believe, *the covenant binds us unto, and* as falſly, *that theſe men had aſſented thereunto and promiſed to promote the ſame*: Enough hath been ſaid, to ſhew the falſhood of his continued ſlanders & lies caſt upon theſe men: he hath a touch of *ſome others*, who he ſaith, *were averſe to the incoming of the* Scots *at firſt into the Kingdom, leſt they ſhould Eclipſe their luſtre* (indeed there was little fear of that, as appeared by what was done by them, after their coming in) *but* for *theſe adverſaries*, you ſhall have him and *the Scots*, ſo ſoon as it ſerves their turn, very readily *take them by the hand, and grow intimate friends with them*, as he himſelf will ſhew you afterwards, that which concerns the Committee of both Kingdoms, as the ſetting of it up, the oppoſing of it by theſe men, and ſuch other ſtories as he hath been told about the managing of buſineſſes therein, he is willing to believe himſelf, and make the world believe ſo much of it, as may give him opportunity to ſay ſomething which he thinks may advantage the *Scots*, though for that he caſt falſe ſurmiſes, ſuſpitions, and lies upon other men; all which, in the iſſue will prove little to his own credit, or the *Scots*, when by this means he provokes and gives occaſion to thoſe who know the truth of things, to make them manifeſt to the world, whom he endeavours to abuſe: he inſtanceth in ſome particulars, one, *that the ſecond men* (he hath his firſt and ſecond, you may imagine them whom you pleaſe) *begin to grumble, that the* Scots *ſhould be adjoyned to the Committee, and that there was a deſign to do buſineſſes without the* Scots *by naming a Sub-Committee without their knowledge, which made the* Scots *complain to the Houſes*: there needed not much matter, to make them put in papers of complaint to the Houſes, which afterwards they might Print and ſpread about to diſaffect the City to the Parliament, this was a uſual courſe with them; but what cauſe was there of complaint, if this had been ſo? If the *Scots* not being there at the preſent, the reſt of the Committee had appointed a Sub-Committee to examine a buſineſs, and prepare it to be reported to the Committee, conſiſting of *Engliſh* and *Scots*, who then are acquainted with it before any thing be acted in it (for Sub-Committees acted nothing, but made report of what they found upon examination, to the Committee for their determination therein) how could this be a deſign to do buſineſs without the *Scots*, or any cauſe of complaint to be made by them in that reſpect? and beſides, what need had *theſe ſecond men* (as he calls them) or any other of the Committee, to finde out and proſecute any ſuch deſign? For if the *Scots*, in any thing that the reſt of the Committee thought fit to be done,

done, would refuse to consent and gave their Negative, there was no more to be done by the rest, but to acquaint the Houses with it, and leave it to their determination, which being done, they had discharged their duty: but this man writes, as he is informed, and as he and they that gave him his informations, think to make advantage of it, to carry on their own *good cause* they have in hand, and who they were that in probability gave him his informations and instructions, and set him on this good work, may appear by these and other particular intelligences, which he relates done at the Committee of both Kingdomes which must be made known by some there present. His second instance will likewise manifest whence he hath such particular intelligences, and that is of *a secret intelligence* given *for the surprizing of* Oxford *at a weak place, and provisions being then scant, and the Town unfurnished of them*, this was *given by one* Patrick Napier, *to a Sub-Committee of three, whereof there was one a* Scot, *and this is neglected, notwithstanding the* Scots *did press it much that it might be attempted*: You will make all men think your *Scots* to be some of your simpler sort, and not fit to sit in such a Committee, when they shall truly understand what this business was, if it had been true that they had pressed the trial of it, for they must have been either fools, or false, and such as were willing to ruine the new modeled Army unto which indeed they had no great affection. The truth of the business was this; the L. *Lotherdale*, who was the *Scot* he speaks of in the Sub-Committee of three, and the cause of that Sub-Committee, informed the Committee of both Kingdoms, *that there was a man come from* Oxford, *a servant of a friend or Kinsman of his there, who had somethings to inform the Committee of, which were worthie of their knowledge, and because the man was not willing to come before the whole Committee publickly, he desired that a small Committee might be appointed to receive his intelligence & report it to the Committee*; hereupon he himself was appointed for one, and there was joyned with him the Lord *Say*, and Mr. *William Pierepoint*; who withdrawing into another Room, the man was brought by the Lord *Lotherdale* before them, and being asked, what intelligence he could give concerning *Oxford*; he began to tell of many ordinary things of no use, nor worth regarding, amongst which he said *they had no great store of provisions laid in*, and he spake of *one place which was not strongly fortified, but he thought it might be there stormed*, or somewhat to this effect: the other two who were joyned with the Lord *Lotherdale* in that Sub-Committee, asking him other questions, of things more material, and of some consequence for their satisfaction herein, that the intelligence might be more certain and worth consideration; the man seeing these generals and ordinary things he had spoken of gave no great satisfaction, answered, *he could say no more for the present to what they demanded, but if they would give him a little time, he would come to them again and bring them a more certain and particular information of those things he had spoken of, and they desired to be satisfied in*: upon this he was dismissed for that time, and the Sub-Committee went presently into the Chamber where the Committee sat, and made report of what they had heard of this fellow, whom he calls *Patrick Napier*, which was indeed of little consideration as he then left it; ordinary things and generals, as *no great store of provisions*, a thing fitter to ground a siege upon, which afterwards his *Scots* complain so much of, than a surprise, but it was known the Countries round about them lay open to them, being the best Corn-Countries in *England*, and Corn was brought into

the Market twice a week, and when they pleaſed they might command out of the Countreys what they wanted; that there was *a weak part in the Town, where he thought it might be ſurprized*, whereof, when he was demanded particulars, he deſired ſome more time to give ſatisfaction in them, this being preſently reported to the Committee, they ſaw little in it conſiderable, but expected what his next coming would produce, and ſo the Sub Committee was continued: the Lord *Lotherdale* after this was divers times aſked, when the man would come to the Sub-Committee again? he anſwered, from one week to another, that *he was not yet readie, but would come as ſoon as he was readie to give them a fuller ſatisfaction in his intelligence*; ſo it was put off from time to time, till at laſt it appeared there was no ſuch man to be found or heard of. Neither did the Sub-Committee, or the Committee of both Kingdoms after that time hear of him any more: this was an excellent foundation to have laid a deſign upon, of ſuch conſequence as the ſending of a great part of the Armie to attempt the ſurpriſal of *Oxford*, upon an intelligence ſo uncertain, coming from a man that came from *Oxford* (it might be ſent on purpoſe to draw the Forces, which ſhould make the attempt, into a trap) one that the Committee never ſaw before, and when he had promiſed them to come again, to make out his intelligence more full and ſatisfactorie, never appeared afterwards, neither did the Committee know what became of him. This being the truth of this buſineſs, which I believe none of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners will denie, I am ſure they cannot with truth; will any wiſe man think, that they would upon ſuch a ground as this, adviſe, much leſs preſs the Committee to make a trial to ſurpriſe *Oxford?* for my part I believe no ſuch thing, but rather that this man thinking to aſperſe the whole Committee, for ſo he doth, *the neglect* which afterwards *he interprets to proceed out of treacherie & falſhood*, muſt be theirs if any were, for the whole matter was reported to them and to be ordered by them; in ſeeking, I ſay, to disgrace the whole Committee, that he might thereby grace the *Scotch* Commiſſioners in the opinion of men, as having more fidelitie and ſinceritie, than the reſt (a practice uſual with him) he puts that disgrace upon their Commiſſioners in this, for folly and indiſcretion, if not falſhood, ſhould they, as he ſaith, have *preſſed the Committee to do* ſo ridiculous and unreaſonable a thing, as I think they themſelves, as they were not guiltie of it, ſo they will, as well as the reſt of the Committee, give him the lye in it, which he too often deſerveth: this contents him not, but he adds further, that *the Enemie is made acquainted with the ſecret advice, and that particularly, and thereupon takes notice of the weakneſs of the place ſpoken of, which before he had not done, & ſtrengthens & fortifies it: and this is diſcovered by intercepted Letters, which had not been communicated to the* Scotch *Commiſſioners, notwithſtanding the common Intereſt*: How come you then Sr. *Scot*, to know that there were any ſuch Letters, or any ſuch diſcoverie made by them, if ſuch letters being intercepted were not communicated to the *Scotch* Commiſſioners? from whom is it that you uſually have your intelligence I pray? they that know no ſuch things themſelves, how can they communicate it to you, whoſe intereſt it ſeems is very common with them? But for the Letters and the things diſcovered in them, they may both, for ought I know, be the fictions of your ſertile brain that way, to caſt durt upon the Committee; let any ſuch Letters appear, or if there were any ſuch intercepted, that ſhewed a diſcoverie was made to the Enemie of this intelligence given, why good Sir, may you not *be miſtaken and it be the* Scot

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that did give the Enemie notice of it, rather than any of the *Engliſh*? who was it that brought the man to the Committee that made this tale, or gave this ſecret intelligence you ſpeak of, was it not the *Scot*? who afterwards, being often ſpoken unto to that end, would yet never bring him to light again, but away he goeth to *Oxford*, and the Committee can ſee him no more: if therefore the Enemie had any ſuch information given him, of a ſecret intelligence given to encourage an enterpriſe upon a place that was weak, which thereupon he better fortified, and that it be not one of your inventions, or your Countrey-mens, I pray why may it not be your Countrey-mans action rather in all probabilitie, than any other mans? Let any indifferent man judge by all the circumſtances; we uſe to ſay, *the Hound that firſt found:* this man who, as I have ſaid, it may be, might be ſent of purpoſe to give this intelligence to catch our Forces, if we had been ſo ſimple as to ſend any upon ſuch a tale, when he had done his errant, might make haſte back again, or be ſent by thoſe to whom he came, to give notice, or carrie intelligence about him what ſervice he had done here, that the Enemie might be prepared to make his advantage of it. For the *Engliſh* that were of the Committee, I aſſure my ſelf they ſo little regarded what this fellow ſaid, and ſo much neglected his Intelligence, eſpecially when they ſaw he would not appear again according to his promiſe made to the Sub-Committee, that had any of them had any trinckling with the Enemie (which it had been well if others had been as free from) yet they would have found out things of more moment to acquaint the Enemie withall, than ſuch a ridiculous paſſage, & ſo carried as this was: but they are beſt acquainted how it was diſcovered to the Enemie (if any ſuch thing were) that can firſt acquaint us there was ſuch a Diſcovetie made, which is this *lye-inventer* (to return his own phraſe to himſelf who beſt deſerves it) or the men from whom he receives his intelligences. If men would uſe that libertie of judging, which he uſually takes to himſelf upon the like or far leſs occaſions, they would judge, that all this was but an invention from the beginning, to take off the ſuſpition that might be raiſed by this fellows coming from *Oxford*, and applying himſelf to one of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, and therefore the Commiſſioner, that he might be with him with the more freedom, till the errant he came about was diſpatched here in Town, covers him with this cloak, *of bringing Intelligence to the Committee*, and makes him tell at firſt a flimflam tale, and then promiſe more particulars in a ſhort time, that thereby more time might be gained for him to ſtay in Town without ſuſpition, until the buſineſs he came about were ended, and then be ſent back to *Oxford*, as he was when the *Scotch* Commiſſioner and he had thus befooled the Committee: this were a much more likely conjecture, conſidering *Digbies* Letter, and a finer ſtorie, nearer the truth a great deal, than many of thoſe which this mans ſpleen, envie, & malice againſt thoſe *ſome*, and *that parlie* (as he terms them) his ſtomach ſtill riſech at, makes him invent and caſt up, when he can find any occaſion ſo to do, though drawn in by head and ſhoulders, as we uſe to ſay. In the next place he falls upon the Parliament, in ſaying, *the Armie was moulded according to the mind of ſome few men, and that being done, they muſt be appointed to beſiege* Oxford: by whom could either of theſe be done, but by the Parliament, and their Order? for the Committee, in matters of ſuch concernment uſually acquainted the Houſes, and had their direction or approbation. But in the mean time he ſaith, *the Enemie was ſuffered to run up and down, increaſe his Forces, ſpoil the Countreys, and hazard all:*

then he brings in his proverbial ſpeech, which he will needs faſten upon *foreigners*, that *the Parliaments Forces were gnawing the bones, while they ſuffer the Enemie to feed upon the fleſh*, and that *there was not, they ſaid, fair dealing every where*; they ſaid in that very true, there was not, but very foul dealing; for who was the cauſe of all this miſchief done by the Enemie? and of his running up and down to do it, but that Armie, who being ordered to advance up Southward to prevent it, and had promiſed ſo to do, and thereupon was expected when this deſign was laid, inſtead thereof, runs 200 miles Northward, and that they might be ſure to keep themſelves far enough out of the Enemies reeth, that their fleſh might not be fed upon by him, they leave him at libertie, unexpectedly to all men, to run up and down and devour the fleſh of the Countreys, and the Town of *Leiceſter*; which all men knew, by their coming up South-ward as was ordered and expected, 2500 Horſe and Dragoons being to that end ſent to joyn with them, would have been prevented; either they would have given him Battle with a number far exceeding his at his firſt going out of *Oxford*, before he was thus ſuffered to increaſe his Forces (at leaſt if they dealt not falſely with us, but were 21000 according to Articles, and as they required pay for ſo many) or elſe inſtead of plundering up and down the Countreys (which they gave him fair way to do) he muſt have endeavoured to return again to *Oxford*, to avoid fighting with Forces ſo far ſuperior, by the conjunction of the 2500 Horſe, to thoſe which he had with him, and *Oxford* he would have found blocked up, where the reſt of his Forces were, and all his Ammunition, and himſelf, By his return thither incloſed between the two Armies; a deſign ſo well laid, that if the King finding himſelf thus ſtraitened on all ſides, ſhould have been forced (to go Weſtward to his Forces there, under *Hopton* and *Goring*, *Oxford*, as I have heard themſelves did report, had been taken within three weeks, not expecting a Siege at that time, and therefore no way provided with victuals for it; an Intelligence (had the man ſo much underſtanding in theſe things as to know it) to be made uſe of onely for a Siege, not for a ſurprize; but I ground it not at all upon *Napiers* intelligence given to the Committee, nor did any wiſe man regard that, onely it ſheweth this mans folly; and beſides this, the King had been followed into the Weſt, by a conjunction of both Armies aſſiſting each other, a thing ſo much preſſed by General *Levenan* his Letter before mentioned. This that I have ſaid was ſo apparent, and lay ſo open to the view of all men, that the man here cannot paſs it by, but muſt go to his box for ſome ſtuff to paint it over, and excuſe it if he could; for he ſaith, *it was then given out, that the Scots not coming Southward, was the cauſe of all theſe miſchiefs*; and well might it be given out, and all men believe it to be ſo, for had they come Southward in the time they were ordered to do ſo, and had promiſed accordingly to do it, with that conjunction of 2500 Horſe and Dragoons which were ſent to meet them, all this miſchief had been prevented, or elſe they were far from being *the gallant Armie* he will needs have them reported to be; and the man himſelf ſaith, when he thinks thereby he may ſet forth their worth and praiſes, that *had they come up, the Enemie had not made that ſpoil he did at* Leiceſter; here we have his own confeſſion, ſet down before in a brag: but why did they not come up Southward, Let us ſee his daubing again here in this place; *let reaſon judge*, ſaith he, *whether it were eaſier for an Armie near at hand to follow the Enemie, having all proviſions, or an Armie above 200 miles diſtant that wanted proviſions and could get no draughts*. This ingredient in-

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deed is never wanting in your painting ſtuff; but the queſtion is, why that Army would not be as it ought, and timely enough might have been, ſo near the Enemie as to follow him, diſturb, and ſtop him from increaſing his Forces, and doing that miſchief he did, while the other Armie in expectation thereof, and upon their promiſe not to fruſtrate their expectation, was imployed in a deſign of beſt advantage to that ſervice in concurrence with them, had they marched Southward? that they would run contrarie to directions, and their own promiſes above 200 miles another way, which he would make their excuſe, this was their fault, and the cauſe of all the miſchief: here the malicious, or at beſt uncharitable man will ſuggeſt, that *thoſe who contrived the Siege of the Town of* Oxford, *had no intention to take it by Siege, ſince they would not trie to take it by Surprize and ſecret enterpriſe*; a very ſolid ground to caſt ſuch a baſe imputation upon the Committee, by whoſe direction the Armie lay before *Oxford*; if the Committee had done that, the refuſing whereof he makes the ground of this ſlander, I have ſhewed before they had been juſtly to be accounted either fools or betrayers of their own Forces; but ſuch baſe lyes and ſlanders, whom ſoever it may concern, are uſual with him in this Pamphlet, as we may ſee in this that followeth; *the* Scots, he ſaith, *did not onely openly diſſent, but alſo proteſt againſt this Siege*; either this is a lye, which is no great wonder in his Diſcourſe, or elſe the Siege was directed by the Houſes of Parliament, and then his charitable judgement, that they were falſe in the Cauſe, lights upon the Houſes; for if *the Scots*, whom he will have to *have a negative Vote in the Committee*, had diſſented and proteſted againſt it, it could not be ordered by the Committee, but muſt be directed in ſuch caſes by the Houſes: to think to avoid it, by ſaying, *ſuch a Partie*, or *ſome men prevailed with the Houſes to do it*, as it is to impute ſimplicity to them, ſo it is no other than the Court trick, when they uſed, to ſcandalize the Parliament under ſuch a cloak. *The partie of Horſe*, he ſaith, *which was appointed to follow the Enemie, was called back, contrarie to the advice of the* Scots; this Partie which he here ſpeaks of, were a Partie of Horſe under *Cromwell*, with ſome Foot from *Abbington* joyned with them, which were imployed in the Countreys near about *Oxford*, and not far from the Armie, that by falling upon thoſe Forces the King had there in ſeveral Garriſons, and in thoſe parts ſtraggling up and down, and by hindering the bringing in of Proviſions into *Oxford*, the King to prevent the ruine of his Forces left about *Oxford*, and to relieve *Oxford* it ſelf, and thoſe other Garriſons in the parts adjoyning thereto, might be drawn back; or if not, thoſe Forces and Garriſons loſt and taken, as many of them were; but for the *Scotch* Commiſſioners to deſire that this Partie ſhould follow the Kings Armie ſo far from the bodie of their own, that the King might ingage them apart from it, when the Kings Armie was ſuch and ſo conſiderable in their eſteem, that they deſired 2500 Horſe and Dragoons to be ſent to their Armie to aſſiſt them, if the King ſhould ingage them to fight, would ſhew they had little care of our Forces and the hazard, nay certain ruine of them, or very little confidence in their own Armie, to which the greateſt part of this Partie he ſpeaks of, was ſent, in the 2500 Horſe and Dragoons ſent them: the calling of this Partie back, was upon a Letter from both the Commanders, *Cromwell* and Major General *Brown*, who wrote to the Committee, *That if they ſhould follow the Kings Armie ſo far from the Bodie of their own Armie, that the King might turn back and ingage them, it would in all probabilitie be the loſs of that Partie*; upon which they were called back to

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the Armie, and the 2500 Horſe and Dragoons ſent to the *Scotch* Armie; and the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, at whoſe requeſt it was done, thereupon writ to them to advance to *Darby* and ſo Southward; but they with their whole Army, to which theſe 2500 Horſe were to be added, would not come up near the *Kings* Army, and yet the *Sotch* Commiſſioners will have the *Kings* Army followed with a ſmall parry of our Army: now where lieth the juſt cauſe of complaint? Let any man of judgement and indifferency judge of it, the truth being thus laid open. Here the pragmatick bouteſeu finds faule again, *that the Scotch Commiſſioners did not publiſh their Papers concerning this to the whole world, that their ſimple ſincerities* (as he calls it) *might be known, and other mans faults jufted out.* I have ſet down the true relation of theſe things which this man laboureth thus to diſguiſe, that thereby it may appear, if theſe were the carriages of the *Scots* which he holdeth forth, their ſincerity, if it were ſincerity was indeed a very ſimple one. He concludes this piece of his ſtory very confidently; ſaying, *let things be tried, and no longer carried in hugger-mugger to the prejudice of the publick ſervice*: I promiſe you I will do my beſt ſo to uncaſe you, and pull off all your vizards, that you ſhall carry things no longer in this deceitfull way of yours, to the prejudice of the truth; and when you have done ſo, make a ſhew of ſimple ſincerity, and caſt your hugger-mugger upon thoſe men who are ſincere indeed and plain hearted.

After this he comes to ſpeak of that, which before I ſaid, it would not be long but that he himſelf would come out with it, and ſhew how *his firſt men*, as he ranks them (*who in the beginning were averſe to the coming in of the Scots, and therefore ſtill oppoſed the ſetting up of a Committee to joyn with them in the managing of buſineſſes*) *now turned about to the Scots, and the Scots to them*, and as his manner is all a long in his diſcourſe, he ſo dreſſeth it up, that *theſe men* muſt be made to *ſee their error*, and *the Scots* ſet forth *making a declaration to all men, of their regarding no mans perſon, nor being intereſted in any man, but as they judged him to intereſt himſelf heartily in the Common cauſe without by-ends; thus they did from the beginning, and this they continue ſtill to do, and thus they will do to the end conſtant to their principles*: this ſuſtian bumbaſted Declaration, ſtuffed with ſo much other vain oſtentation of themſelves, that I think they would be aſhamed to own it, this forward-putting Pedant takes upon him to put forth in their names, and once or twice to tell you *what the* Scots *do declare to all men*; read him but in this place, and you ſhall ſee Mr. *Rhombus* in his ruff, and yet for all this ruffling, he finds this buſineſs will not come off ſo clear, but that he muſt come in and be their compurgator, which good office he is very often put upon: it ſeems this turn-about and change from one ſide to another, was ſo obſerved in the *Scots*, that he ſaith *there was great murmurings againſt them for having quite left off honeſt and well affected men, and taking by the hand ſemi-malignants*; here we have his own confeſſion, how this was reſented, and generally ſpoken of amongſt men; what they were whom they quitted, and who thoſe were whom they take by the hand in exchange, I have already upon other occaſions ſpoken unto, and therefore will not trouble my ſelf with it here again; onely by what I have there ſaid, it may appear, the *Scots* were not ſo averſe from *humoring* and conſulting with *women*, neither was *that* ſo *unexpected unto them*, as this man in this vain, flaunting, fooliſh Declaration made in their name very ſupercilioufly ſets forth for them: At laſt he ſaith, *of this enough for this time*;

time; yea, and too much a great deal, except truer and wiser: but yet he remembers himself of *one thing*, which *he cannot pass*, though it depend not upon what he had said before, & belong no more unto it, than the Moon to a green Cheese, as we use to speak; but that is his usual custom, to vent any thing as it falls into his fancie, which he thinks may excuse his *Scots*, and besparter honester men: I confess there is cause enough to move him not to pass it; for the *Scots*, for whom he makes himself Proctor, need a Purgation in this particular, as much as in any; the thing is this, *there are hardly*, he saith, *any divisions amongst these of the side, but the blame thereof is laid upon the* Scots, *when as* he will needs have it to be *well known, that the* Scots *assistance, faithfull in counsel, and active in the Field, serves not only to suppress the Enemie, but also to keep together those, who would otherwise fall asunder:* for his extolling their fidelitie in counsel, and activitie in the Field, were there truth in it, yet it is so continually inculcated, and so grosly heaped upon them by him, that it is shamefull, and stinks in the nostrils of every wise man, as too much praise out of a mans own mouth ever doth; but for the thing it self, he will prove a Physician of no value, when he comes to purge them of this disease; it will not be done with a bare affirmation, for I shall say and prove it to, that it is well known what divisions they have made, and what their endeavours have been to that end; witness their changing parties, and turning from one side to another; as they saw or thought it might conduce to the furthering of their designs, and obtaining their ends: when there were Emulations, and from thence divisions between the Commanders of the Parliament Forces, from whence did arise great miscarriages of dangerous consequence in the management of the War, sometimes they crie up Sir *William waller*, and he is the onely man with them, and the Lord of *Essex* must be looked upon at a distance, with an evil eye; at another time, especially when the new-modelling of the Armie, and setting up of another General, puts him into a discontent, that in opposition to this new-modelled Armie, which their stomachs could not well digest, he seems to fall in with them, then they presently take him by the hand, and he and his Partie are the onely intimate men with them; and this is that which the Pedant means, when he speaks of *the first men, who were averse to the* Scots *coming into the Kingdom, for fear their lustre should be diminished, who afterwards* he makes to *see their error, and then to go along with the* Scots, whereupon, out comes his foolish, ridiculous Declaration in the name of the *Scots*; the envy that both had against this new-modelled Army, brings them to agree *In eodem tertio* at first, and afterwards to grow better acquainted, and go on together in other designs, and correspond in them also: these divisions made, or fomented by them, though they were of evil consequence, yet were they not considerable in comparison of those mischievous and destructive divisions, endeavoured by their means to be brought to pass, between the Parliament and the Citie; and last of all, but worst of all, between the King and the two Houses of Parliament, witness their continual practise of putting in Papers full of invectives against the proceedings of Parliament, and when they had so done, then causing them to be printed and spread about the Citie, to alienate their affections from the Parliament; then had they their Emissaries, as *Cranford* and such like, to send to the Exchange, and up and down in the Citie to infuse lyes into such as were most likely to be wrought upon by them, and such beagles as this Discourser, by Papers, Manifests, and slanderous Pamphlets, to follow the Chase when they had

ſet it on foot, and to poyſon the peoples affections, that they might be fitted and prepared to help on their deſigns by commotions and tumults; you have heard how this Incendiarie complaineth, that *the opportunitie thereof was taken from them, when they were removed out of the Citie to* Worceſter houſe, a thing done onely out of reſpect unto them, and for their conveniencie, but his complaint manifeſteth ſufficiently what was aimed at: for the diviſions and breach between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament, continued by their endeavours, of all other the moſt unhappie; I will bring for witneſs their carriage at the Conference, in pleading for the Kings uſurped Prerogative (for that which was grounded upon Law, and exerciſed according to Law was never denied) againſt the Subjects juſt and known Rights eſtabliſhed by the Laws, the thing defended by Arms, and the true ſtate of the Quarrel, which they come to aſſiſt us in, yet they pleaded againſt it, and printed their Pleadings, and proſecuted theſe practiſes of theirs at the Iſle of *Wight* afterwards ſo effectually, that the King refuſed the four Bills ſent unto him, which had he then paſſed, he had been fully united to his two Houſes of Parliament again; but of this I have ſpoken before, here onely I mention it, to ſhew what unhappie differences they have made, and how induſtriouſly they have endeavoured and purſued the ſame: by all which, I believe it will appear, this Proctor of theirs, might more to their advantage, have paſſed by this one thing: Notwitſtanding he will needs add another, as little to the purpoſe as the former, but ſo notoriouſly falſe, and with that ſhameleſs impudencie affirmed, that no man, who knoweth the truth of things, can with patience hear it, without being moved to diſcover unto the world that truth, which will manifeſt the ſhamefull lyes, and falſhood of theſe his brags and boaſtings of his Countrey-men: I will ſet down his words, which have no dependencie either upon what goeth before, or comes after, but a notorious lye brought in, in a bragging way, to make men believe great matters of the *Scots: then I adde*, ſaith he, *that the Enemie, how low ſoever he ſeems to be at this inſtant, deſires to have no better game, than that the* Scots *would retire, and withdraw their helping hand from the Service; for he that of nothing made a Partie ſo great as to carrie all before it*, until he was ſuppreſſed by the *Scots*, *would raiſe up his partie again; but in deſpight of the devil and all oppoſition, whether clandeſtine or open, the* Scots *will ſtand firm and faithfull for the carrying on of the work of God and his people:* firſt for the time he ſpeaks of, when *the Enemie* ſhould *ſeem* either to himſelf or others *to be ſo low*, it can be no other but after the Battle at *Naſebie*, for before we have him always prarling of *the Parliaments low and deſperate condition*, and that the Enemie, as here, carried all before him, and in the *Kings* Letters to the Queen, taken at that fight, he writes himſelf, that *he can ſay his affairs were never in a more hopefull way*, therefore it muſt be that overthrow, and total rout of his whole Armie, which brought him ſo low: and I pray, was it here that *your* Scots *ſuppreſſed the Enemie?* was it their Action at this time that made *him deſire no better game, than that they would retire?* truly then they gave him as fair a game, as he could deſire to play, for they did retire ſo faſt from meeting him, that very ſuddenly they were retired 200 miles and more from him, that they might be ſure to be far enough out of his way: but that no man being a ſtranger and unacquainted with our affairs, may think this to be juſtly attributed to them in reſpect of any thing done by them at any other times, I will affirm this, and none with truth can denie it, that the *Scots* were ſo

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far from *repreſſing the Enemie, or cauſing any fear in him*, that from their firſt coming into the Kingdom, untill they went out again (except what they did with my Lord of *New-Caſtles* Forces, whereof I have ſpoken) they never would or did engage their Armie alone with any conſiderable force of the Enemies, much leſs with an Armie of his; they never took one Town of any ſtrength by Storm, but *New-Caſtle*, where the profit of the place, and the conveniencie thereof to be kept in their hands (which it ſeemed they intended) made them do more than they ever did afterwards, or as it ſeemed had reſolved to do, witneſs *Hereford:* that this may the better appear, let it be conſidered what they have done, either in aſſiſting of us, or oppoſing the Enemie from firſt to laſt, that this impudent fellow (for in this give me leave ſo to term him) ſhould brag, *that the Enemy carried all before him untill he was ſuppreſſed by them*: after the Battle at *Marſton-moor* (where the Enemy had experience ſufficient to make him know how little cauſe he had to fear their repreſſing of him, or hindering his deſigns in the Field, as a little after the Braggadochio ſaith, they complain the *Scots* onely did) they take *Newcaſtle*; & the cauſe why they put themſelves upon the hazard of Storming it, may appear by their detaining of it in their hands after they had taken it, as they did that other frontier Town *Carlile*, when they had ſnatched it out of the hands of our Committees, who were then treating about the ſurrender of it unto them by the Enemie: after this, I ſay, it was hoped, they would have done ſome ſervice the next Summer, which was accordingly deſigned, and their aſſiſtance required by the Parliament, the Committee of both Kingdoms, and by the particular Letters of their own Commiſſioners, when they had obtained for them of the Committee ſo great an aſſiſtance of Horſe and Dragoons to joyn with them; but what diſſervice they did in ſtead thereof, by overthrowing the deſigns laid for that Summers ſervice, by the Enemies plundering the Countreys upon their running another way, and in the mean time, by taking an opportunitie, as to be far enough out of the Enemies way, ſo to catch another of our Towns into their hands, and keep it contrarie to agreement and faith given, as they would needs do *Newcaſtle* when they had got that, hath been alreadie ſhewed; and how the Parliament paſſed all this by in ſilence, upon expectation of ſome better ſervice, but all their expectations were fruſtrated, and as little done afterwards, as before: indeed nothing done, but inſtead of repreſſing the Enemie, oppreſſing the Countreys by proviſions made for them; and by their plunderings of them; for when the Enemies Armie was totally routed at *Naſebie* Fight, the King going away and eſcaping out of the Battle, onely with ſome Horſe, the Officers of the Parliaments Armie were in conſultation amongſt themſelves, whether to follow the Partie of Horſe eſcaped out of the Battle, and thereby prevent the Kings recruiting himſelf, and raiſing a new Armie in thoſe Welch Countreys, or march to the relief of that Part of their Armie beſieged in *Taunton*, and the ſaving of that Town, which had ſuffered ſo much for their fidelitie to the Parliament, knowing them both to be in very great ſtraits at that inſtant, & the conſequence of their loſs to be the Enemies entire poſſeſſion of all the Weſt, except two or three Towns; in this difficultie, not knowing well what to reſolve on, as moſt conducing to the ſervice of the publick, they ſend to the Parliament & the Committee of both Kingdoms for their advice and direction therein, by which they would be guided, yet not ſitting ſtill, but ordering their marching ſo as that they might be in fit place and poſture, either to follow the King into *Hereford-ſhire*

or turn Weſtward as they ſhould receive directions; hereupon they receive Letters from the Committee of both Kingdoms, letting them know, that they had the conſent and good liking of the Committee, and the Houſe alſo, to march Weſtward; and for the following of the Horſe eſcaped out of the Battles, Letters were ſent to the *Scotch* Armie, to march towards *Worceſter* and undertake that ſervice; thereupon the Parliaments Armie bent their courſe preſently Weſtward, where the ſtrength, that the King had left after his overthrow at *Naſebie*, except a few Horſe eſcaped with himſelf, was; and indeed it was a great ſtrength, and much more conſiderable in reſpect of the diſpoſition and affection of thoſe Weſtern Counties: what ſucceſs God was pleaſed to give that Armie, & what great ſervices, by his bleſſing, they did in the Weſtern parts, even to the ending of the War, is very well known, and cannot be denied by this man, or ſuch as he is, though they burſt for envie at it: This Armie being thus imployed by Command, what in the mean time did *theſe* his *repreſſers of the Enemie*, the *Scotch* Armie do, in that which was left to them as their charge to proſecute? which was no more but to follow ſuch Horſe as were eſcaped with the King, and ſee that they did not increaſe Forces, nor run up and down plundering the Countreys well affected to the Parliament, and that their want, or weakneſs in Horſe might not be a hinderance unto them therein, conſidering they were to follow Horſe, a conſiderable Bodie of Horſe again was ſent to joyn with them; but they, after they had marched according to their orders towards *Hereford*, near about *Worceſter* (as I take it) ſend word, *the King was gone into* Wales, *and their Armie could not follow him into the Mountains*; ſo he was left to run up and down as he pleaſed, firſt to *Wales*, afterwards to *New-wark*, then to plunder *Huntington*, and exerciſe cruelties there, ſo towards *Bedford*, & then to *Oxford*, with ſuch increaſed Forces, as he could get up and recruite himſelf withall, whereby he made with his Horſe ſuch excurſions out of *Oxford*, that the adjacent Countreys under the Parliaments protection, were greatly annoyed and harraſed thereby, inſomuch, that the Committee of both Kingdoms were enforced to ſend to the General, being in the Weſt, for Forces to be ſent from his Armie there imployed, to keep in thoſe Horſe and ſecure the Countreys. Thus was the ſervice, left to the *Scotch* Armie, performed by them, when the Parliaments Armie went into the Weſt againſt all the remaining Forces of the Enemie, there being left no more for the *Scots* to do, but to follow and diſſipate a partie of Horſe, eſcaped out of the Enemies Armie, wholly routed and overthrown, which Partie did not ſtay upon inacceſſible hills in *Wales* (a pretence of theirs not to follow them) but run up and down without being followed by them (though there were ſent an addition of Horſe to them to that end) and did miſchief from *Newwark* in the Northern parts, and ſo back again all the way, until they came to *Oxford*: had they not been repreſſed, when they were ſent from *Newwark* by the King, under *Digbie* and *Langdale*, by others then theſe whom he makes *the repreſſers of the Enemie*, who never followed them or came near them, they had joyned with *Montroſs* in *York-ſhire*, which was the deſign, 1600 of the beſt of thoſe Horſe being ſent for that purpoſe, under the Commanders named, but defeated by our Forces in thoſe parts: thoſe the King brought to *Oxford*, the Parliaments Armie was conſtrained to ſend Forces out of the Weſt, to repreſs and keep them in from breaking out of *Oxford* to plunder the Countreys thereabout, though at that time they were ingaged againſt all the forces the King had left, which were very conſiderable under

der the Prince, *Hopton*, and *Goring* in the West, besides the expectation of ten Thousand Horse and Foot out of *France* to be landed in those Western parts, and many out of *Ireland*, as appeared by intercepted Letters sent purposely to the Prince, from *France* and *Ireland*: let this suffice to shew *how the* Scots *suppressed the Enemy, stopped and opposed all his designs in the field, and what assistance they gave us*, and what liberty and freedom our Army had thereby when ingaged in the greatest dangers, and opposing the greatest forces; they having no more in the mean time to do, but to prevent the mischiefs that might be done by a broken discouraged piece of an Army, overthrown & totally routed before by ours, and so to attend their motions that they might not distract or divide our Army, then imployed in the main work of the War and against that Army the *King* had onely left him, and all those strong Garrisons in the West which they reduced: but of all this, though a very small piece of service put upon an Army of 21000 men, with a considerable strength of Horse sent to assist them, yet they did just nothing, but returned answer *the King was gone into Wales, and they could not follow him*, so they left him to run whether he would and do what he pleased: when they had returned this answer that they might not be thought to lye upon the Countries charge and expect their pay for doing just nothing, they think of besieging a Town, and so sit down before *Hereford* with their whole Army, where when they had lyen intrenched a great while, the Counties bringing them in provisions and all thing necessary for a siege, after a breach made by their Canon sufficient for to storm the Town, had they had any minde so to do, they raise their siege dishonourably, without ever making so much as an attempt to take the Town at that breach, which by their battery they had made for that end, and taking occasion upon the news they heard of *Montrosse's* proceedings in *Scotland*, away they march without hazarding a man to gain the Town, which afterwards was gained by an inconsiderable party of our Country forces; they marched Northward towards their own Country, their Horse being gone before them under *David Lesly*, who coming into *Scotland*, and overthrowing the forces under *Montrosse*, which being not above 4000 or thereabouts, had mastered all *Scotland*; when the news hereof came to the Army which was marching after them, they staid, and that which then they set themselves about, was to joyn with our Northern forces under Colonel *Poynz* a good active souldier, to besiege *Newwark*, where while they lay (safe enough for any hazard they would put themselves upon) the *King* fearing to be besieged in *Oxford* by our Army now returned victorious out of the West, comes and delivers himself unto them, passing thither disguised, the *French* agent *Montril* going thither before, and residing in the *Scotch* Army about a week, to make way for his reception: upon the *Kings* coming unto them, the Town by his command is delivered into our hands, he being willing as it seemed the *Scots* should march away with him, which they did in great haste to *Newcastle* (kept by them in their hands for any good purpose) fearing lest we should dispute it with them, as well we might, their keeping the *King* in their power in our Kingdoms; and *Poynz* with the Northern forces under his command feared them so little, that I have heard he would have done it, and fought with them, before they should have carried the *King* away, had he known the Parliaments minde therein, and been by them authorised so to do; hereof it seems they had some apprehensions, which made them march away with so much speed. Here you have all that was done by them worth the

naming, from the time they came into the Kingdom untill they went out: and for this laſt ſervice, committed to their care, of purſuing this party of Horſe eſcaped out of the battle, when the whole Army was totally routed, and all the Foot Regiments taken at *Naſeby* fight, wherein it was hoped they would have done ſomething, when this their Proctor comes (as he ſeeth there is need enough) to make their purgation in reſpect of the murmurings that he ſaith were againſt them for it, indeed for doing nothing in it, you may perceive how he is put to it, how he laboureth to piece and patch up an ill buſineſs, which paſſeth his skill to mend, or ſet any tolerable fair face upon. Firſt we have him at his generall known ward, wherewith he uſeth to fence off all that his *Scots* are charged with, the Committees muſt be Malignants, *when they came into* Worceſter ſh. *with great diligence intending to follow the Enemy into* Wales, *the Committee of that ſhire* (whom in deriſion he ſtiles *noble*) *lead them a great circuit about out of the way* he ſaith; it is well known they can go out of the way, when they are to come up to the enemy, without being led, as appeared when they were appointed before to come to *Darby*; *well notwithſtanding this, yet they will finde the Enemy, but in the end he is gone into the hills of* Wales, yea, as I have ſhewed you before to plunder *Huntington*, and do other miſchiefs, and at laſt to be ſo formidable unto them, that the very voice, or a deviſed tale of *his approaching, is the main reaſon*, he gives *of their* diſhonourable *raiſing the ſiege at* Hereford, *and not attempting to ſtorm the Town*; for before he is aware, he tells us that here, which I ſhewed before was obſerved, *their reſolution to keep their Army intire, they will not therefore divide them to follow the Enemy, though* they ſay *he had divided his few run-away Horſe*, neither will they ſtorm the Town but deviſe a tale of *the Enemies Horſe approaching, that might fall upon them while they are* in *ſtorming*: then unſkilfully he diſcovers the reaſon of their reſolution, to keep an Army here in this Kingdom that ſhall hazard nothing to weaken it, or indanger the breaking of any part of it, *for they were far from home, and could not eaſily make it up again*; what ſervice then we may expect from them every man may hereby judge, yet we muſt have more Malignants brought in to mend this matter, if it could be, the Committee of both Kingdoms muſt be Malignants, yea, the Parliament it ſelf, becauſe upon ſuch a tale as this, *the Enemies Horſe coming towards them in a great body*, they would not preſently ſend away the Horſe of their own Army to them, who were then ingaged in the beſieging of *Briſtol*; he is hard put to it you ſee, when to excuſe this ill carriage of his *Scots*, he muſt make the Committee of both Kingdoms, and the Parliament alſo to be in the number of Malignants to them. Many other ſuch fooliſh fig leaves he makes uſe of to cover over this foul buſineſs, not worth my trouble to anſwer, nor any mans to read, onely by his own confeſſion, though they ſtaid there long to do nothing for the ſervice of the Parliament, yet thereby divers of them had time enough to *trinckle with the Enemie*, what was the Subject thereof is beſt known to themſelves, neither will I judge, but that which appeared not long after, was what I have ſhewed before, the *Kings* putting himſelf into their hands: we have here his own confeſſion, that *the buſineſs the Parliament intruſted the* Scotch *Army with at this time, and deſired them to take care of, was to purſue the broken Enemy, and to clear the field of him, that he might not recrute himſelf, gather forces and do miſchief*, which they for all their readineſs and diligence, which he prattles of, for fear of dividing their Army, would not do, but the Enemie with his Horſe going into *Wales*, in which Countries he was moſt likely to

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recruit himſelf and raiſe new forces, they let him go and reſolve to lie ſtill with their whole Army, and wait till he would come to them, and finde them out, as that which they judge beſt for the ſervice, and they had lyen ſtill but for the *murmures* of men (whom therefore he calls *ſimple ones*) which made them think of *beſieging Hereford*: this was a likely way to clear the field of the Enemy, and keep him from increaſing his forces, which when they had given him libertie to do, and *heard* but a *rumor* (if it were not one of his own making) *that the Enemy was coming towards them*, they raiſe the ſiege, and away they go; and had they not undertaken that ſiege, but lyen ſtill waiting at the entry of the Country for the Enemies coming back, whom he ſaith they could not finde, for the truth is they never ſought after him, certainly when he had raiſed forces and had come to find them and ingage them, this their raiſing of their ſiege upon ſuch a report, and marching away, with what they did formerly, gives us juſt cauſe to ſuſpect what they would have done in that caſe; ſome report of a flying Army going into their Countrie would in likely-hood have made them make haſte Northward again, without ſtaying for draughts: we have his confeſſion that *the breach was ſufficient for ſtorming, and all things in that readineſs, that they had reſolved, to ſtorm the Town the next morning, at a Council of War, there being not many forces in the Town: then* comes *the rumor of the Enemies Horſe approaching*, and withall *the conſideration of hazarding their Armie, which they might have need of in their own Countrie, this turns the ſtorm reſolved on into a raiſing of the ſiege*: could a mornings work have detained them ſo long, either for the Enemies Horſe to come near them, or from the relief of their own Countrie? But they reſolve to hazard their honour, rather than any part of their Army: we have his confeſſion, that the Enemy came by them but a great way off for fear of them: they were fearfull bugbears indeed it ſeems unto them; had they by following the Enemie made themſelves fearfull to him, he had never had the means and opportunity ſo to ſtrengthen himſelf, as to come by their noſes, and afterwards do all the miſchief he did at *Huntington*, and up and down thoſe Countries, and then make them ſo afraid of him as to riſe and be gone: but *David Leſly preſently followed them with moſt of their Horſe, and went before them*, he ſaith, but why did he not rather go up to them, but went ſo, that as he confeſſeth, *it was murmured, he was gone no man knew whither, and the Enemie went whither he would* for any oppoſition that he received from him, to *Newark*, then to *Huntington* and towards *Bedford*, plundering up and down till he came to *Oxford*, without being followed at all by theſe to whom that care was Committed: nay, he ſo little feared or cared for their following of him, when once he ſaw himſelf ſecure and free from the Parliaments Army, that going to *Newwark* without oppoſition or hinderance, he ſent from thence, as I have ſaid, 1600 of his Horſe under *Digby* and *Langdale* into *York-ſhire* to joyn with *Montroſs*, who in many places, as they went by *Doncaſter*, beat up our quarters, and at *Sherborn* tooke 800 priſoners; where was *David Leſly and his Horſe* all this while, which he ſaith *were purſuing the Enemie about Trent?* had he done any thing in the purſuite of them, you ſhould have been ſure to have heard of it, and had it in great Letters: but whereas he ſaith *the Pamphlets at London were ſtuffed with what our forces did or would do therein*, the man (not afraid to uſe the name of God here) ſaith *God knoweth they were far away from the Enemie*, which is ſo falſe (as ſhew me one Pamphlet amongſt them all ſtuffed with ſo many falſhoods as this) that it is well known, this party of 1600 Horſe going into

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York-shire (*when* David Lesly *was gone they knew not whither, for which*, he saith, *they murmured*) was encountred by our *York-shire* forces under the command of of Colonel *Copely* and Colonel *Lilburn*, and by them wholly routed, the 800 prisoners taken at *Sherborn* rescued, and their Arms recovered, 400 of the Enemie taken, 600 Horse, many Commanders and men of quality, 40 slain, and *Digbies* coach with his Cabinet taken, having therein the letters that tell such tales of the secret Treaty between him & the *Scotch* Commissioners, the man would I believe have been glad, in that respect, our forces had been, as he said, far enough off from the Enemy, when their forces, by the trust reposed in them for that end, should have been as near, but were indeed far enough off from doing any service at all against them; had they been as near as ours were, and had had the same courage to do the like service, they might have saved Mr. *John Cheesly* a labour in searching out this letter of *Digbies*, and keeping it from being Printed and published, when the rest of the letters were: I have insisted the longer, and been the larger in this particular, that I may refer the Reader thereunto, as a true Relation of all the services, for the assistance of the Parliament, that were done by this *Scotch* Armie, while they were in the Kingdom, for the great charges they put the Kingdom unto in their pay, and pressures the Countries lay under by their free-quarter and plunder; all which being duly considered by indifferent men, it will appear to have proved rather disservices, than serviceable assistance given to the Parliament; therefore all his braggings & boastings of them (which this foolish Romance set forth of purpose to delude the world therein) is so stuffed with, even *ad nauseam* to all that read it, calling them *our deliverers, the Enemies only oppressors, & those that alone give stop to his designs in the field, his fear and onely terror, the causers, continuers, and onely preservers of this Parliament*, with I know not how much more of the like stuff; to all, I say, of this ridiculous boasting (so Thrasonical and withall so false, in the knowledge of all that are acquainted with our affairs in these unhappy times, that any ingenious man would be ashamed of it) whosoever the Reader shall meet with the same, I shall give no other answer, but desire him to receive the answer from this true Relation of all their carriages, and performances in this unhappy War, wherein to assist us they came into the Kingdom: had there been the left ingenuity or discretion in this discourser of theirs, who undertakes to set forth their performances and great acts, he had never done them that wrong as to force out the truth, in answer to his base and most false slanders and calumnies, cast by him upon this nation, and upon men of best desert, sometimes to excuse, and at other times to set forth and extol the *Scots*: for by that means, thinking to cast a cloak upon the same, he hath occasioned their nakedness to be the more discovered to the world. It may be he might think to abuse strangers and posterity, by these Fables and fictions of his brains, and content himself with that, though he were laughed at with indignation and scorn by all that truly understood the carriage of things in respect of all parties, both in Council and in War: and that which makes this the more probable, is his making this poor piece of his march forth, as one saith, in Roman *Buff*, taking the pains to turn it into *Latine*, that thereby those, who are strangers to our affairs in this Kingdom, and unacquainted both with persons and actions in these late troubles, might be abused, and the more easily drawn to believe by this Romance of his, that out of *Scotland* came *Arthur* and his Knights of the round Table to our assistance: but it may be he shall be met withall in his own colours, and paid in his own coyn the better to disabuse them.

Having

Having, upon their raiſing the Siege at *Hereford*, and making haſte homewards into their own Countrey, when they had done ſo little here, ſpoken ſomewhat of what had befallen them in *Scotland* by a few Forces under *Montroſs*, who by thoſe few ſubjected to his power the whole Kingdom, and made thoſe who then ruled flie for their ſafetie, which news was the occaſion of calling *David Leſley* thither for their ſuccour by the *Chancellors letter*, as he ſaith, and of the Armies following after him: let me in this place likewiſe ſhew the malicious falſhood of this man in repreſenting unto the world the ſence wherewith this diſaſter befallen *Scotland*, was entertained here in *England*; and I deſire that all the reſt of his envious, malicious ſtanders and lyes, when they are met withall in this Pamphlet which is full of them, may be judged of by this, which I ſhall make appear to be one of his manifeſt falſhoods: *the news of what had befallen them in Scotland*, he ſaith, *was written hither by divers from the place and from* Barwick, the effect it had was, that *good, honeſt, and well-affected men* (and thoſe muſt onely be ſuch who are of his partie, and for his turn) *were much moved and afflicted at it*, and he cannot but confeſs, that *the Houſes of Parliament ordained a ſolemn Faſt thereupon, for prayers and ſupplications to be made in behalf of* Scotland; *but there were divers others*, he ſaith, *that did laugh in their ſelves at this affliction, and were glad in their ſouls of it*, and amongſt theſe (as you muſt ever expect when the overflowing of the gall takes him, then theſe muſt be brought in) the *prime of the Faction of the Independents* (as he terms them) *did leap for joy of the infortune of the Scots*; and then runs on not onely to take up and carrie about baſe lyes concerning them, but to make and invent them, which he that doth, the 15 *Pſalm* ſhews his condition, and where his place will be, except he repent: but as theſe later, which he runs out into, are known to be lyes, the men whom he means, under this term he puts upon them, being ſuch, as are no *turn-coats for money or preferment*, nor ſo little eſteemed (which is his grief) as *not to dare appear in the ſtreets*, his own caſe, when he ran away being ſought after to be puniſhed for theſe, and ſuch other lying ſeditious practices; ſo I will make it appear how falſe and full of malice the former is *of their rejoycing at the calamitie of the* Scots: it is clear enough, that when he talks of *the prime of the Faction of the Independents*, he means ſome of thoſe prime Officers of the New-modelled Army, & that may appear by his deſcanting upon their Letters in this Pamphlet, as we ſhall ſee afterwards, and by many other paſſages, whereby he endeavoureth to disgrace them, and leſſen their eſteem if he could by many groſs lyes forged againſt them, and ſpread abroad to that end; now with what brotherly affection and Chriſtian compaſſion theſe very men, did expreſs themſelves towards the *Scots*, upon the news of this ſad accident befallen them in their Countrey, yea, and that when they were marching away thereupon, and leaving the whole burthen of the War upon them, let all the World ſee by this Letter ſent unto them to manifeſt the ſame, and thereby judge of this, envious, malicious man, and his writings as they deſerve.

A Letter written from the General & Officers of the *Engliſh* Armie, to the *Scotch* Armie, upon the report of the proceedings and ſucceſs of *Montroſs* in *Scotland*.

MAy it pleaſe your Excellencie and the reſt, honored friends, and beloved brethren, we have not without much grief received the ſad report of your affairs in Scot-

land, *how far God, for his best and secret ends, hath been pleased to suffer the Enemie to prevail there, and are (we speak unfeignedly) not less sensible of your evils, than you have been and are of ours, nor than we are of our own: and the greater cause of sympathie have we with you, and the more do our bowels earn towards you, because what ever you now suffer your selves in your own Kingdome, is chiefly occasioned by your assisting us in ours, against the Power that was risen up against the Lord himself, and his anoynted ones. Wherefore we cannot forget your Labor of Love, but thought good, at this season, even amongst our many occasions, to let you know, that when the affaires of this Kingdom will possibly dispence with us, the Parliament allowing, and you accepting of our assistance, we shall be most willing, if need so require, to help and serve you faithfully in your own Kingdom, and to ingage our selves to suppress the Enemie there, and to establish you again in peace: in the mean time we shall endeavour to help you by our prayers, and to wrestle with God for one blessing of God upon both Nations, between whom, besides many other strong relations and ingagements, we hope the unitie of spirit shall be the surest bond of Peace: and this, what ever suggestions or jealousies may have been to the contrarie, we desire you would believe, as you shall ever really find to proceed from integritie of heart, a sence of your Sufferings, and a full purpose to answer any call of God to your assistance, as becomes*

Your Christian Friends and Servants in the Lord,

Thomas Fairfax		
Oliver Cromwell	Hardresse Waller	Charles Fleetwood
Thomas Hammond	William Herbert	Ralph Welden
Henry Ireton	Robert Hammond	John Raymond
Edward Montague	James Gray	Leon. Watson
Richard Forteſcue	Thomas Pride	Arthur Evelyn
Richard Ingoldsbye	Robert Pye	Richard Dean
John Pickering	Th. Rainsborough	Thomas Jackson
Christopher Bethel.	Thomas Sheffield	John Desborowe

I shall now return to find him out, and what he hath next started, for up he takes that which comes to his fancie, and as he thinks it may serve his turn, without any respect of Order or time: that we find him now upon, is *a treatie between the Commissioners of the King, and those of the two Kingdoms*; in which, to set forth to the world the integritie of the *Scotch* Commissioners, their constancie and firmnes to their principles, he as his usual course is to do throughout this Pamphlet, for that end invents lyes, and casts slanders upon the *English Commissioners*, insinuating their readines to comply with the *Kings Commissioners*, who he saith, *had felt their pulse*, and *thereupon promise to themselves, that they could carrie all things to their minds, were it not for the rude and stiff-necked* Scots, *who were so firm to their principles, that they resolve to carrie on the work with honor and conscience, though with hazard and danger, rather than to yield to a base agreement, to the prejudice of Church and State*: then he falls to tell how *the Kings Commissioners crie out upon them for this, as the onely hinderers of their ends, and stoppers of their designs, both in the Field and in Council*; and ends with *magnifying their honestie, faithfulnes, resolution, prudence, knowledge, and wisheth both Parties to tell you freely, if in the least point they were found failing in any of these virtues and excellencies*, wherewith he adorns them and sets them forth: I expres him in his own terms, that you may have a Character of him, & see his perfect image throughout this whole par-

partial lying Diſcourſe, and judge hereby for what end it was ſet out & publiſhed: well, I as one of the Parties whom you call upon, will tell you freely, and all men whom you deſire to abuſe, that the *Scotch* Commiſſioners themſelves, without calling to any parties to witneſs it for them, did ſo manifeſt what might be expected from them, in Treaties with the Kings Commiſſioners, in reſpect of the King and for his advantage, at the Conference which they deſired to have with the two Houſes, that they might therein take libertie to plead for the Kings uſurped prerogative, before the Commiſſioners of both Houſes were to go to the King, that no man who then heard them, will doubt what their carriage would be at a Treatie at any time, and what the Kings Commiſſioners, without further feeling of their pulſe, might promiſe to themſelves in reſpect of them: For the Kings Solicitor, and his Attorney General, in the caſe of Ship-money, did not *more rudely and ſtiff-neckedly* (to uſe his own terms, and ſute them to the truth) plead for the Kings uſurped power in exacting that money illegally, than they pleaded for the Kings uſurped prerogative againſt the 4 Bills to be ſent to him, which onely contained the Subjects juſt Rights: I have touched this before, and to this carriage of theirs both at the Conference, and afterwards at the Iſle of *Wight* in purſuance thereof, I will refer the Reader, thereby to receive an anſwer, and to make his judgement of them, ſo often as this Diſcourſer ſhall ſpeak of their inclinations to Treaties with the King, & of their carriage and behaviours in them: I dare ſay, whoſoever heard them, and ſaw their carriage at the Conference, and obſerved all paſſages afterwards the time they ſtayed in the Kingdom, both at the Iſle of *Wight* and after they came from thence, could not read what this their Agent, their Solicitor in this place ſpeaks of them, and attributes to them, but with juſt indignation at it.

We have him now again at *the new modelling of the Armie*, which a little before he ſaid was done *according to the mind of ſome few men*, imputing that weakneſs to the Houſes of Parliament, that a few men could impone upon them, and lead them as they pleaſed; this leſſon he was taught by the Court, and learned of the Cavaliers, as I have ſhewed, thus would they do when they intended in any particular, to traduce the proceedings of Parliament, and render them odious to the people: he confeſſeth *the Parliament had juſt reaſon to do it, in reſpect of the many and great miscarriages, which they could not by fair means redreſs, and that this was by the fault of thoſe imployed in the ſervice, whether for want of skill, or care, or ſinceritie, he will not enquire*; but had it been in this new-modelled Armie, he would certainly have been ſo inquiſitive, as to have found a fault where none was, which will appear afterwards; onely here he will be modeſt, for it concerns thoſe whom his Commiſſioners took ſo kindly by the hand and embraced, when they quite left off and quitted honeſt men, at which he acknowledgeth the people murmured. He rakes up this buſineſs again, as you may perceive by the enſuing diſcourſe, chiefly to vent his ſpleen againſt the new-modelled Armie, for who can ſtand before envie? the better men deſerve, and the greater their ſervices are, the more that diſeaſe is increaſed: Two things he ſnarls at in them, the one, *Inſufficiencie in ſuch as were imployed*, the other *Independencie* (for I told you here you ſhould find the Butt he ſhoots his bolt at, when before he ſpake of the prime of the faction of the Independents) this diſcourſe of his he uſhereth in by telling of *an Advice given to the Parliament by the* Scotch *Commiſſioners, when they heard of their reſolution to reform their Armie, firſt that they would made choiſe of experien-*

ced Souldiers; *secondly, none but such as would take the Covenant: these advises*, he saith, *were not so much regarded as was needfull*, therefore *many were put out that were of known worth and experience, and new men put in their places, unknown for any Militarie virtue:* before he had said *the* Scotch *Commissioners were informed, that by indirect means, and for by-ends, men were preferred to places of command, and such as favoured Sects and Schismes, and were professed Enemies to the Covenant*, which is, and always with him must be *the common Cause in hand*: here you have what he would asperse and disgrace this Armie with; and whether true or false in respect of any such advice given by the *Scotch* Commissioners to the Parliament, or information received by them, or in respect of the things themselves, all is one so it serve his turn, and carrie on the good cause he hath in hand in this Discourse: he goeth on with *admiring, why the Common Souldiers should not be pressed to take the Covenant:* then shewing why some men are against the taking of the Covenant, & from thence falls into two foolish discourses, which we shall take up one after another; and last of all ends with *a complaint, that so many gallant* Scotch *Officers should be cashiered*, in whose praises he expatiateth sufficiently: this being done, out comes that envie, and appears, which stirreth in him upon any occasion of *mens taking notice of Gods blessing upon the endeavors of honest men in this new Armie*. For the *insufficiencie of the Officers of this Armie*, whereby he would insinuate the *sufficiencie and experience of the* Scotch *Officers cashiered*, and hold forth therefore *the cashiering of them as a great fault*, being so many brave fellows, and that all in one day, when they had carried themselves so gallantly and valliantly, and yet had no reward, or very little, for which they were constrained to dance attendance a long time; hereby lashing, not onely the new-modelled Armie and General thereof, whom yet sometimes he will claw, but the Houses of Parliament; To all this, I say, let Action, which is that that manifesteth abilitie and sufficiencie in all things, especially in Militarie affairs, be the trial, and give the judgement in this comparison of Officers: let it be considered, what hath been done by the one in a Year, what by the other in divers, what we lost when they were imployed, what Victories and places of strength we gained by the imployment of *these unexperienced men*, as he would have the world believe them to be. It is not bragging and prating of brave fellows, which makes them such, but acting bravely and wisely: it is true that there were some able and experienced Commanders of the *Scots*, who did very good service, and if these would have stayed and kept their Commands, it was that which was desired; but for the generallitie of them, they were found to be such, as that before the new-modelling of this Armie, they were in great numbers left to *walk* (as in one place he saith of some of them) *from the Ayle-horse at* Westminster, from one Tavern and Ale-house to another, and then to *Westminster-hall*; and this was their march for a long time; yet for this these Reformadoes must have some pay to send them home, and we were glad so to be rid of them; at our first taking up of Arms in our own defence, there came store of them to *London*, under what Titles they pleased to put upon themselves, in respect of the former services they said they had been in; there were not then many experienced Officers and Soldiers of the Parliaments side, so these were taken, and much was expected from them, but when upon some trial it was found, a little experience in these our unhappy Wars could make much more usefull Soldiers, for our service, of our own Nation, these, as I have said before, were left to walk the streets, except it were *some* who

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moor Fight, that there you have him using the same lying language as here with little difference, and with the same known falshood, as in that place I have shewed; where the Reader may see, who the men are his spleen riseth at, and that will be sufficient to discover to him the falshood, the scope and end of this slandering Pamphlet; This man he so often snarls at, (*viz. Oliver Cromwell*) and the rest of the Commanders whose *profession of Religion* he will have to be *nothing but a cloak for Faction*, needed not *indirect means to bring them into places of Command*; and for *by-ends*, they are known to be men of more worth and honestie, than to suffer themselves to be made use of for any such ends; but belike the man takes all to be by-ends, which lay by his Idol, and the setting up of that in this Kingdom, his *Scottish Kirk-Government*, which he still *will have to be the common cause contained in the Covenant, and to which the oath of the National Covenant must tie us all; the quarrel of* England (as he would make it) *being one and the same with that of* Scotland, *though not so well cleared to be so by the Parliament as he could wish:* that men will not take the Covenant with this sense most falsely put upon it, makes him with open mouth thus fly out upon them, and this is his second quarrel against the New-modelled Armie, as also against all those he terms Independents; *after a great debate in the House it is resolved*, he saith, *that all the Commanders should take the Covenant, upon pain of cashiering*, but *he will not believe this order was observed*, you must give him leave to believe but what serves his turn; *as for the Common Souldiers, it was not to be pressed upon them*, which first he will have to make *men admire*, then next *it astonished them*, and for all this he gives a wise reason, either out of ignorance or out of falshood to keep those men he talks of (if any such were and not rather men of straw set up by his own fiction) in their admiration and astonishment; that is, *that the Parliaments Soldiers should not be put to take the Covenant, when the Enemies Soldiers, being Prisoners, had an oath tendered to them, and those suspected to adhere to the adverse Partie, being brought before the Committee of Examination have an Oath put to them, which if they refuse they are*, as he phraseth it, *censed Malignants*: his astonished men may be delivered out of their astonishment, into which he will cast them, very easily when they shall know, The Covenant, ordered not to be pressed upon the common Soldiers, was one thing, and these Oaths he speaks of, tendered to the Enemies Soldiers that were Prisoners, and to suspected persons, a clean other thing different from the same; for the substance of this later Oath was onely this, that they should swear, hereafter *to act nothing in prejudice of the Parliament, knowingly and willingly*, which men of meanest capacitie must needs be able to understand what it meant, and what thereby they bound themselves unto; but to press upon every ignorant Soldier the taking of an oath, such as the Covenant (the true sense and meaning whereof, though indeavored in the first drawing of it up to be made clear, was grown so doubtfull, so variously construed, and so much controverted at last amongst men of best understanding, and that by means of such pragmaticks as this, and other like him, putting senses upon the same subservient to their own ends) had been no other than to cause a great many poor men to take the name of God in vain by swearing they knew not what, whereas oaths are to be taken in judgement: and the Parliament had sufficient experience of this, to teach them to be more tender herein for the time to come, by being drawn by that common custom in *Scotland*, of thrusting oaths upon the ignorant people

people through the whole Kingdom, when they have any deſign to take in hand, and by their perſwaſions to order the Covenant here in *England*, to be preſſed upon the people in every Pariſh, and this at their inſtance, as I have ſaid, and after their example; a deviſe of the *Scots*, no way ſtanding with the care that ſhould be had of preventing the taking of Gods name in vain, and making uſe of ſo ſacred a thing as an oath, to ſerve turns and carrie on deſigns, thereby involving the whole Kingdom in that ſin, which God will not hold him guiltleſs, that is bold to commit. The Parliament had good reaſon in this reſpect, to forbear the Ordering of every common Soldier to take this Oath. Now that he might bring in one of his wiſe diſputes, he tells us *the reaſon why ſome men are backward to take this oath*; and that is *becauſe they are adverſe to the Government of the Church by Presbyteries*; which is a thing that hath no truth in it, but he will feed his fancy with it, becauſe he hath entertained this fancy before, and is very induſtrious to make others believe it, that *by the covenant a man is bound to ſet up Preſbyterian government, and ſuch a Preſbyterian government as they have moulded and framed and do exerciſe in Scocland*; whereas in the drawing up of the Covenant by the Aſſemby of Divines, and a Committee of the Houſes joyned with them, that care was taken, that the Word of God ſhould be the Rule in all, and then ſuch Cautions and Limitations were ſet down for every mans proceeding according to that rule, that what he did ſhould not exceed the bounds of his place and calling; ſo that, as the ſence of the Covenant was then taken to be in the Debate about it, and agreed upon, there was no Independent (as he diſtinguiſheth them) refuſed to take the Covenant, more than a Preſbyterian; even thoſe of the Aſſembly whom he rails upon, and ſhirpeneth his invenomed pen againſt (men for piety and learning, whoſe books, he and ſuch as he is, are not worthie to carrie after them) took it as readily as any; and ſo did *his prime Independents*, Officers of the Armie, and Members in the Houſes (for ſuch they muſt all be, that his hot *Scotch* Preſbyterian head, to ſerve his ends, will caſt that term upon:) But if any afterwards were backward to take it, the chief reaſon of it was, that the *Scots*, and ſuch as deſired to make uſe of it to ſerve their ends, and carrie on their deſignes, would put their ſenſes upon it, and make ſuch interpretations of it as ſerved their turns beſt, and accordingly urge and preſs ſome parts and pieces of it, but for the reſt regard it as little; this made many refuſe the taking of it, or the preſſing of it upon others, when they ſaw ſuch uſes made of an Oath; and good reaſon they had to ſhew and teſtifie their diſlike of the abuſes of Oaths and Covenants wherein the name of God is intereſſed, when they ſaw men make that uſe of them, to carrie on their deſigns and compaſs their own ends the better.

The Diſcourſe he firſt falls into, he brings in thus, *a prime man*, he ſaith, *amongſt thoſe who are adverſe to the Government of the Church, ſpake openly*, That though in his judgement, he did not approve of Presbyterial Government in the Church, yet he at all times would ſubmit to whatſoever Church-Government the Parliament ſhould ſettle, either by active or paſſive obedience: This the man will needs have to be a great abſurditie, while the abſurd man in the mean time, either cannot for want of wit, or for want of ingenuitie will not diſtinguiſh, between giving of obedience to

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the thing commanded by doing of it, and to the Authoritie that doth command it; for to this, obedience is given by ſubmitting to what puniſhment ſuch Authoritie ſhall inflict, in caſe that be not done which is commanded, and that without reſiſtance for conſcience ſake: lawfull Authoritie (which is not to be reſiſted but obeyed for conſcience ſake) may command things unlawfull, which are not to be done; in this caſe, as Dr *Ameſius* in his Theologie ſaith, *pag.* 391, *Si Præceptum ſit Illegitimum, tum toleratio pœnæ cum injuriâ inflictæ, vim & locum habet obedientiæ:* and for proof thereof, he brings that place in the 1 of *Peter* 2. *verſ.* 19, 20. *if any ſuffer for doing well* (which they do who ſuffer becauſe they refuſe to do that which is evil) *this*, the Apoſtle ſaith, *is an obedience acceptable to God* in ſervants towards their maſters; & ſo is it in all Inferiors to their Superiors: and what doth this man in denying it, but impute diſobedience to authority to all Martyrs of the primitive times, and all thoſe who have ſuffered in theſe modern times; for if obedience may not be performed to authority, by patient undergoing what ſhall be inflicted by them who are in authority, when men cannot lawfully do what is commanded, then neceſſarily they all, and whoſoever ſhall follow their example are to be accounted diſobedient to *authoritie*, and ſo *reſiſters of the ordinance of God*, *whereby* for their Martyrdom *they ſhall receive damnation*. Here you have his Divinity; his Philoſophy is as good: *all virtue conſiſts in action*, he ſaith, *obedience being a virtue, cannot therefore be ſaid to be paſſive*: as if there were no action in ſuffering, whereas the higheſt Act of virtue in a Chriſtian is patient & willing ſubmiſſion of himſelf to ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake; is there no virtuous Act of the will, when it offers the body or ſtate to ſuffer what authority ſhall inflict though unjuſtly, becauſe it will not reſiſt authority, tho. it cannot do what is commanded thereby, being unlawfull? but I trouble my ſelf too much in anſwering ſuch a new devioe, and idle fancy, being contrary to the known received truth by all, both Divines, and others of any underſtanding; and therefore the Pedagogue ſhould not have been ſo bold, magiſterially (as is his guiſe) *to reprove him that firſt invented this expreſſion of paſſive obedience and thoſe alſo that ſince have made uſe of it*. At laſt he remembers himſelf, that *divines ſpeak much of the paſsive obedience of our Saviour*, and there being gravelled and at a non-plus, having before denied any ſuch thing as paſſive obedience, he hath nothing elſe to anſwer, *but that this is of another condition, and belongs to another place*: what place I pray ſhall we finde for that which is nothing? if there be no ſuch thing as paſſive obedience, then there is no obedience in the paſſion of our Saviour offered up to God, which were little ſhort of blaſphemy to affirm: his willing *laying down his life* (*John* 10. 18.) *as he received Commandement from the Father*, and undergoing the wrath of God for our ſins, though a paſſion, was as much an Act of obedience as his doing all that was commanded in the law; and therefore obedience to authority may be performed as truly, and as much, yea more in ſuffering than in doing, but as I ſaid, I have been too long in confuting ſuch an idle new up-ſtart foolery, onely it may be this may ſerve to make a diſcovery of the mans ſpirit, and others like him, ſhewing what they would be at, if they can cloak any thing with the name of *Religion*; the carrying of it on and the compaſſing of their ends in it, muſt be by action, though againſt lawfull authority, not by ſuffering, by which the antient Martyrs ſpread religion through the world, but with theſe men ſuffering is no virtue.

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His ſecond diſcourſe which I now come unto, makes this the more probable compared with that which I have noted before of his magnifying the zeale of their anceſtors in carrying on the work of religion ſo actively in Scotland, which how they carried it on is well known: as he brought in, and had *one* for his firſt diſcourſe, ſo he hath for this ſecond another *one*, who is made to *ſpeake publiquely, that the main quarrell the Parliament ſtood for at firſt, and for which they took up armes, was not religion*: *this* in the firſt place he ſaith *is a great wrong to the wiſedome of the Parliament, for any to aver, and publiſh, that the Parliament did not from the beginning intend a true reformation of religion*: his argumentations following are ſo little to the purpoſe, ſo idle, and needleſſe in this particular, that I will not trouble my ſelf with the recitall of them: but obſerve here againe the ſpirit of this man, he hath no medium between intending reformation of religion, and forcing of it by armes: as if the Parliament could not intend it and indeavour it alſo, except they take up armes to force it; and as if there were no other way and meanes for them to manifeſt their intentions by, but the ſword of war, or to be uſed by them to obtaine their deſires herein, but riſing up in armes: as I ſaid, if they can caſt the name of religion but upon *the outmoſt skirts of religion*, which is the religion this man pleads for in all this diſcourſe of his, *the Scottiſh Kirk government*, yet *the Parliament is not wiſe in God, becauſe they have not his feare before their eyes*, except they take up armes and fight in this quarrell: you may hereby ſee, that as he would bring in his Scottiſh Kirk-government amongſt us here in England, ſo would he alſo bring in their way and manner of riſeing up in armes againſt Authority to force the ſetting of it up, which zeale he ſo much extols before in the practiſes of their predeceſſors; But we in England have not ſo learned religion: In the ſecond place he ſaith, *the thing is moſt falſe; for did not the Parliament intend from the beginning the reformation of religion?* which queſtion he anſwereth by bringing in of *divers inſtances* to prove they did, as *pulling downe the high-Commiſſion Court, curbing the tyrannie of Prelats, cauſing ſilenced Miniſters to preach, &c:* it is true, theſe inſtances brought by him doe prove, the Parliament did intend, and not onely ſo, but indeavour to reforme abuſes in matters concerning religion; but theſe very inſtances doe as well prove him falſe and moſt falſe (to returne his owne phraſe into his owne boſome) when he ſaith and would make the world believe *they tooke up armes upon this occaſion, or ever intended ſo to doe*; neither could they ever have juſtified ſuch a deed; but as they intended and endeavoured the reformation of theſe abuſes, ſo they obtained the ſame in a Parliamentary & peaceable way: then he demands *if the Parliament did not at firſt take up armes for religion*; when did the Parliament make the reformation of the church its main quarrel? this queſtion you muſt give him leave to make the anſwer unto himſelf, that it was at *the joyning with the Scots in the National Covenant*, and therefore the Scots *their poor diſtreſſed friends at this time for their ſakes, and yet neglected by them*, muſt have the *thanks*. But the true anſwere hereunto which we will give is this, that neither before, nor then, nor ſince armes were taken up, and a quarrell made upon any ſuch occaſion, or for any ſuch ends; neither could the Scots by the examples of their owne practiſes and cuſtomes in like caſes, or by their deſire of a covenant effect any ſuch thing, that we would call them into our aſſiſtance upon that ground, or upon any ſuch termes, as was made apparent in the drawing up of the Covenant and at the debate about it; as alſo by all the

Declarations of the Parliament, and Propoſitions for ſetling a peace and good agreement by them, ſince tendered unto the King, eſpecially the four Bills ſo violently oppoſed by the *Scots* Commiſſioners: therefore we will never thank the *Scots*, much leſſe this pragmatick Incendiary of theirs, for ſtating our quarrel for us to their own advantage, and for their own ends, which we neither own, nor do, or can juſtifie.

This doth manifeſtly appear in the preface to that Ordinance of the Parliament for a weekly aſſeſment through the whole Kingdom, for the maintenance of the Army, *March* 4th 1642. the words are theſe. *The Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, fully ſatisfied in Conſcience that they have lawfully taken up Arms, for the neceſſary defence of themſelves and the Parliament from violence, the Kingdom from forraign invaſion, and the bringing notorious offenders to condign puniſhment, which are the only cauſes for which they have raiſed and do continue an Army and forces*: here you ſee the Parliament it ſelf convinceth him of manifeſt falſhood; but of this I have ſpoken fully before, upon the mans own affirmation of that which put the Parliament to a neceſſity of taking up Arms in their own defence, and that was *the King ſeeing all other plots and devices fail, ſet his deſign on foot to make open warre upon the Parliament (though under a hidden notion) to deſtroy it*: theſe are his words, the man did not well conſider, how ill this ground layd by him of putting the Parliament to a neceſſity of taking up Arms, or be deſtroyed, and the Government of the Kingdom thereby ſubverted, would ſtand with this poſition of his, which for his Idol of Kirk-Government he would here inſinuate, and all along endeavors to perſwade men to believe, That the Parliament took up Arms, and by the Covenant were bound ſo to do to introduce that Government and ſet it up in *England*: to this I ſay I have ſpoken fully in that place, to which I refer the Reader, having there ſhewed what it was the Parliament took up Arms for, with the neceſſity thereof, & the lawfulneſſe in ſuch a caſe, according to the true conſtitution of this *Engliſh* Government.

Shall. I ſhall enld my anſwer to theſe two diſcourſes of his (made upon two men of ſtraw, ſet up by himſelf for that purpoſe for ought we know) by obſerving how the humour of the man leads him, upon this or any other occaſion, into his common Road of diſaffecting the people to the proceedings of Parliament, laboring to make them think, That if this Idol of his, and the ſetting of it up in this Kingdom were not made the quarrel, and that for which the two Houſes of Parliament took up Arms, but only the defence of themſelves and the juſt Rights and Liberties of the Subject therein, and the ſetling and preſervation of thoſe Rights and Liberties to poſterity; then the people were brought by this warre into a worſe condition then they were in before it, and ſo reckons up ſome preſſures which they were delivered from, and then labors to ſhew that they were by the Warre ſubjected to far greater; and this the Incendiary (who it ſeems would have it ſo) makes to be *vox populi*: here you have his claw, by which judge of the whole body of the diſcourſe, and what he aims at: he might have conſidered if his ſeditious humour would have permitted him, that which every wiſe man will and doth conſider in ſuch caſes, that it is not to be avoided, but that, as in the natural body when wounds are to be ſearched and dreſſed that they may be healed, and bones diſlocated ſet again in joynt, there will be greater pains felt for the preſent while the cure is in hand, then if

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you did forbear to meddle at all with it; but in the one caſe, the body by induring ſome preſent pains, is recovered and made perfectly whole, in the other to avoid a preſent and ſhort preſſure, the pain is made perpetual, and the part or whole body indangered to loſſe and ruine; ſo it is in the body politick; and therefore as the ſimpleſt man will be content to undergoe ſome ſharp pain to have a bone rightly ſet, or a dangerous wound ſearched in order to the perfect cure thereof; ſo every wiſe man will think it fit to undergoe the charges, and bear the troubles which do accompany the rectifying of thoſe abuſes and oppreſſions, which by degrees are crept into a State or Government by connivence and patience in ſome long tract of time, rather then like *Iſachars* Aſſe out of the love of preſent eaſe, and for fear of troubles and charge, perpetually bow down under their burthens, until in the end the back of that State and Government be wholly broken, and it irrecoverably overthrown; eſpecially when they ſhall ſee things carried on to ſuch a height, as doth unavoidably threaten as much, if not oppoſed and in time prevented: In the end he comes in with an acknowledgement of this himſelf, and a kind or ſhew of excuſe for ſpeaking, as he had done againſt Taxes, to be impoſed in ſuch a caſe of War as this, but it is after he had ſufficiently inlarged and diſgorged himſelf againſt the proceedings of the Parliament, and the Committees thereof, agravating as much as he can the preſſures by them laid upon the people, and extenuating or rather denying any benefits in reſpect of the recovery of their Liberties, and ſetling them in their juſt Rights which they have, or are like to receive, except in the end they may injoy the happineſſe to be brought under the ſlavery of his Prieſts and Kirk-Government: thus he ſpreads abroad his poyſon, as his uſual manner is, to diſaffect the people to the Parliament, and prepare them for tumultuous and ſeditious proceedings, which may be turned and made uſe of to carry on his and *the Scots common Cauſe* (as he uſeth to call it) *contained in the Covenant*, a Cauſe indeed only proper to themſelves, and of their own making: ſuffer me often to repeat this, for herein lies the poyſon wrapped up.

We finde him next as far North as *Carlile*, the taking of which out of the hands of the Parliaments Committees in thoſe parts, and, inſtead of delivering the ſame when they had taken it, into the hands of ſuch as the Parliament ſhould appoint, putting a Gariſon of their own into it, and keeping it from the Parliament in their own hands, was a thing ſo foule in the eyes of all men, and ſo directly contrary to the Articles of Agreement made between the two Kingdoms, when the *Scots* came in to aſſiſt the Parliament, that all his dawbing (though he be well exerciſed therein, as we finde throughout this diſcourſe) will never be able to cover and hide from the ſight of men the foule face of that unjuſt and falſe dealing: how often do you finde the man talking of the *ſolemn league between the two Kingdoms*, and making it *a matter of aſtoniſhment*, as a little before in ſpeaking of the Souldiers of the new-modelled Army, *that any ſhould refuſe to take it*, which he ſaith, *we are all bound to ſtand for, being ſworn to it by ſo lawfull and neceſſary an Oath*; he meanes here (as I conceive) the League between the Kingdoms and the Articles thereof to be obſerved by the one to the other; for of the *Covenant* he had ſpoken before that *the Souldiers were not to be preſſed to take that*; he therefore makes theſe two diſtinct Oaths, and if ſo, then let him tell us how his *Scots* therein did ſtand bound to maintain the Articles of this League which he doth ſo ſolemnize, and what regard they had to ſo lawful

and neceſſary an Oath, as he will make it to be, when for their own ends they would ſo apparently in the eyes of all men violate it, as they did by keeping this Town with a Gariſon in their own hands in this Kingdom, and not delivering it to the Parliament; if they were ſworn to the Articles of the League, as he will have it, they then did this with manifeſt perjury, which no pretences that this their Proctor can bring will purge them of, but that they muſt come to the *ſtool of repentance for it*, and that ſeriouſly, and not in a meer formality, which makes it ridiculous and deſpiſed. Let us yet hear what he can ſay, and how he will plead for them in this caſe; *there is a great ſtir*, he ſaith, *about Carlile, now in the hands of the Scots for the ſervice of the Parliament*, that was well added indeed; but why I pray may not the Parliament be truſted with it in their own hands for their ſervice? was it therefore taken out of their hands by the *Scots*, becauſe they knew not how to make uſe of their own Towns themſelves, as might be for their beſt ſervice? No, this ſhewes for whoſe ſervice it was that the *Scotch* Army ran ſuch a race backward to get this Town into their hands. Then *for the better underſtanding of theſe things*, he ſaith, *he will take them as a farther riſe*: he had need indeed draw even his *ſimpler ſort* (as he often ſtiles them) farther off from the view of this buſineſs, elſe the foul face of it is ſuch, as that he will not be able to abuſe them in it, which is his practice and indeavor both in this and other things; to carry their thoughts therefore far enough off from the matter in queſtion, he begins to tel a ſtory of *theſe two Towns Barwick and Carlile in the times when the Kingdoms were divided under two ſeveral Princes*, and ſo goes on to much purpoſe in his tale; the queſtion being in ſhort this, whether *Carlile* be not an *Engliſh* Town? and being ſo, whether by the agreement between the two Kingdoms, when they did reſolve to joyn together to defend themſelves in their juſt rights and liberties, againſt oppreſſion, this were not covenanted between them, that what Towns the *Scots* ſhould take in *England*, except ſuch as the Parliament ſhould aſſign unto them, which by the agreement was only *Barwick*, they ſhould deliver unto the Parliament, and into ſuch hands as the Parliament ſhould appoint, and not put a Gariſon into it themſelvès, and keep it in their own hands, which is a thing ſo well known to have been articled and agreed, that the taking and keeping of this Town, and to that end putting a Gariſon of their own Souldiers into it, contrary thereunto, doth ſtamp ſo foul a blot of breach of faith upon their foreheads, that this dauber will never be able to clear them of it: we will examine his untempered morter, which he brings to make up this breach withall if he could; you have him here firſt at his old Guard, *the Northern Committees, and the Leaders of the Parliaments forces that were at the ſiege, were ſuch Malignants that the Scots did not think them fit to be truſted with the Town in their hands*; is this the reaſon that their Army muſt run twenty miles out of the right way appointed them, to ſnatch this Town into their own hands, and keep it when they had done? are the *Scots* to be Judges who are fit to be entruſted with Towns in the Kingdom of *England*, or the Parliament? but ſuppoſe this to be a truth, and that they were Malignants and carried themſelves as he aſperſeth them; were the two Houſes of Parliament Malignants alſo, and not to be truſted with their own Town, but that the *Scots* muſt keep it for them and from them? I believe not theſe ſlanders he caſts upon the Committees, and the Commanders and Officers of our for-

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cer, knowing how familiar it is with him to do the like moſt falſly againſt men of greateſt integrity and merit when it may ſerve his turn; but if it had been ſo, they ſhould have ſent to the Parliament, and adviſed them of the danger that might have inſued, if the Town ſhould be put into ſuch hands, and therefore deſired them to put it into the hands of men that might be confided in; this would have ſerved to keep the Town out of ill hands, and to have kept their own faith alſo. Had they had care and courage enough to have taken *Hereford*, when they lay ſo long intrenched before it, I would know of the man that makes this an excuſe for them, whether if after the taking of that Town they had put a Gariſon of their Army into it, and kept it from the Parliament in their own hands; it would have acquitted them of breach of faith given to obſerve the Articles of Agreement between the Kingdoms, to ſay the Committees of thoſe Counties were Malignants, which you ſhall finde him upon that occaſion, to ſay of them there, as he doth here of the Northern Gommittees. In the next place he undertakes to divine what the Parliament would have done if *Carliſle* had been in their hands when they agreed to let the *Scots* have *Berwick*, at their coming into *England* for their aſſiſtance; *he will undertake* to tell us, from no ground but his own fancy, and becauſe it would ſerve well to help him out with this ill buſineſſe, could he make any body believe it, *that the Parliament would have delivered that to the Scots without any more ado, as freely as Berwick*: Nay you ſhall have more of his art in telling you mens thoughts and purpoſes, ſuch as they never had, nor ever expreſſed; *if it had been but required then, he ſaith it had been promiſed to the Scots*: well undertaken upon your uſual ground, which is none at all; but what of all this? why therefore in his imagination, and upon theſe foregoing meer imaginations of his own brain, for they are no other, the *Scots* may take this Town from the Parliament, contrary to their faith given, and without ſo much as asking them, and keep it in their own hands without their conſent; were there any truth in this, which the man will needs divine to be the Parliaments mind and intention, the more ſhameful was this want of truth and faith in the *Scots*, contrary to agreement to take it, poſſeſſe and keep it, without ſo much as firſt asking the Parliaments conſent thereunto, *ſince* (as he will have it believed) *they might have had it for asking*, and thereby kept both the Town and their faith too: he proceeds to invent ſome reaſons, why the enemy accepted of the *Conditions* offered them by the *Scots*, rather then thoſe which were offered them by the Commanders of our forces and our Gommittees, which he ſaith *were very great and more advantagious to the enemy, then thoſe upon which they ſurrendred the Town to the Scots*; which is ſo falſe, that report came up from them preſently after the *Scots* had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town, how that they knowing our Commanders and Committees were in treaty with the Governor for the ſurrender of it, upon conditions much more for the advantage of the Parliaments ſervice, the *Scots* to get it into their hands yielded them any conditions they would demand, as appeares by thoſe large conditions that were granted them, having liberty to carry all their forces to the enemy, and be ſafely conducted thither, whereas the Town was reduced to that condition that it could not hold out, but muſt have ſurrendered both forces and Arms, and not have brought to the enemy ſuch an addition of ſtrength; but all was one to them, ſo they might get the Town into their hands; to make which the more ſure, they turn their Army into that

flying army which they ſpeake of going Northward, for other then their owne, that made ſuch haſt, though they wanted draughts there was none: and all this poſt haſt out of the right way they ſhould have taken acording to their orders, was that they might come time enough to keepe that towne out of the Engliſh mens hands, and get it into their owne: one of *his reaſons is, the Governour could not truſt them, becauſe they were ſo wicked and falſe to the Party they profeſſed themſelves to be of*; how ridiculous doth this man make himſelfe to any underſtanding man, by giving this for a reaſon, why that Governour would not Surrender a towne, which could not be held longer, to thoſe who ſo much favoured his party, rather then to any other? for if thoſe *wicked men* (as he will terme them) were falſe to the party which they profeſſed themſelves to be of, that was the Parliament, as this man makes them to be in all his diſcourſe, then they were true to the enemie, and is that a reaſon why the enemie ſhould be unwilling to deliver the towne into their handes? being ſuch friends unto them, as he would make them by his lyes, that *they would ſhoote pouder at them inſtead of bullets, and ſuffer proviſions to come in unto them*; all which he had before affirmed; had this bin true, the Governour had good cauſe to truſt, that they would have given him good conditions, and taken care to ſee them well performed: yea the Inconſidering Schoolemaſter, that mindes his matter no better then one of his truanting boyes his leſſon, but flings about every way to caſt off this foul blot, which cleaves ſo faſt to his Country men, contradicts himſelfe moſt apparently afterwards in ſaying that *the enemies drift was ſince he could not keep the Town againſt the Parliſto doe his beſt to put it into the hands of Malignants that were his friends*: Now by his deſcription of theſe men, where could the enemy have found better friends, and greater malignants to deliver the towne unto? he will not ſay the ſcots; I am ſure, therefore they either are all lies and ſlanders which he caſts upon the Commanders and Committees to excuſe the faithleſſe proceedings of the Scots in this particular, which I believe to be the truth; or elſe this can be no reaſon why the Governor ſhould not truſt theſe moſt of any. *Next*, he ſaith, *it was becauſe they had not authority; for the Generall of the Scotts army being there, except there had bin a Committy of both kingdoms upon the place, by agreement things of conſequence were to be ordered by the Generall, and there was no ſuch Committy reſidinge with the army*: but what makes the ſcotch Generall there at that time? when in the meane time the Parliament expected to heare of him and his army at *Darby*, in conjunction with the forces they had ſent to joyne with him for preventing the miſchiefs done by the enemy about *Leceſter* and the incloſing of him and his forces betweene the two armies: was he ſent to run 200 miles with his army, from the ſervice appointed them, and deſigned for them, that this might be given for a reaſon why our Committees and Commanders might not be treated with, nor order the buſineſſe of *Carliſle*, but he being there, order it into the ſcots hands? well, ſuppoſe him to have bin drawne upon this occaſion to make ſuch an unexpected leape out of the way with his whole army, yet if he in ſuch a caſe being preſent, and no Committee of both kingdomes reſiding with that army, was by agreement to have the ordering of buſineſſe, by the ſame agreement he was bound to order the townes taken in *England*, into the hands of ſuch as the Parliament ſhould appoint, and not Garriſon them with his owne forces as here he did; which if they had intended, as by their faith given they ought to have perform'd, ſurely he would never have put the whole

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army to ſuch a long march, and beſides have undergon the cenſu e ſo juſtly laid upon them, for overthrowing thereby the deſignes of the Parliament and occaſioning all the miſchiefes done by the enemy, who in the meane time had faire way given him to ſpoyle and plunder the Countryes; but of this unhappy, ſtrange vigary I have already ſpoken, and touch it againe here upon this idle reaſon given by him why the ſcots ſhould keepe the towne in their handes, the fool'ery whereof I was willing to make apeare: *thus* he ſaith, *Carlile is put in obedience to the Parliament for the publique ſervice according to the firſt agreement*: ſtrange impudency when thus he rather ſhould have ſaid (if he would have ſpoken truth) Carlile is ſnatched out of the hands of the Parliament by the ſcots, and kept under their owne power; for their private ends, directly contrary to the firſt agreement. *After all this* he ſaith, the *Scots were cryed out upon by Malignants*; and there is enough in all this to cauſe not Malignants, but thoſe who are beſt affected to *England* to cry out of this their falſe dealing with *England* contrary to agreement, ſo that there was not an *Engliſh-man* in Parliament, in the Committees of both kingdomes, or elſe were that underſtood the agreement betweene the kingdomes and their carriage in this buſineſſe ſo contrary thereunto, that could finde reaſon to be ſatisfied therewith, though in prudence they might for the time forbeare to quarrell about it, as I have ſhewed before they thought fit to doe: but all muſt be *Malignants* with him, whether Parliament or Committees, that ſhall diſlike what the ſcots doe though it be never ſo unjuſt. At length he will give a *reaſon*, *why the Scots put a garriſon of their owne men into Carlile*, and *that was* he ſaith, *from the conſtitution of the preſent affaires of the two kingdomes, and the conſideration of the wicked and baſe dealing of ſome of the chiefe men in the Northern Countyes, and unfaithfullneſſe of thoſe intruſted by the Parliament in ordering buſineſſes in thoſe parts*. Muſt ſuch a fellow as this is, or all his *Scots* with him, take upon them to be the Judges of ſuch a conſtitution of affaires as may judge our Towns in *England* out of our own hands, and fit to be kept in theirs, becauſe the Parliament is not able to judge of fit men to be imployed in their buſineſſes? muſt the *Scots* thereupon become our Gurdians? how doth this reaſon of his aggravate the affront, rather then excuſe it? if any of theſe men, whom he aſperſeth, could have been proved unfaithful, upon the information and proof thereof, the Parliament would have diſpoſed the Town (being delivered unto them as it ought to have bin) into other hands, whom they knew to be faithful: but by this fellows argumentation, and his Countrymens action which he defendeth, the Parliament is not judged to be of a diſpoſing capacity in reſpect of their own Towns, but they muſt be kept for them in the hands of the *Scots*, till they come of age, and know how to diſpoſe them into the hands of men fit to be truſted; for *when it ſhall be thought fit for the common good of both Nations the Town will be ruddy left by the Scots, and this* he ſaith, *the State of Scotland will willingly engag it ſelfe for, by all the aſſurances that can in reaſon be required*: who can with patience bear the ignorant impudent boldneſs of this pedantical fellow, which I ſhall obſerve in this particular, and one more, which twice together he will needs inculcate in this buſineſs, as he is dawbing it over: in this the *Scots* muſt by him be made the Judges, when it ſhall be thought fit for the publick good, that the Parliament of *England* may have the diſpoſing of their own Towns, till then they muſt be in wardſhip; is there a diſpute to be made about that, whether it will ſtand with

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the publick good of both Nations, for the Kingdom and Parliament of *England* to have their Towns in their own hands and disposing. Then Mr. Schoolmaster carrieth himself as if he were the publick Agent for the State of *Scotland*, taking upon him to tell us *what the State of Scotland will ingage themselves unto*: But where, is his Commission here again, as formerly? let this be sufficient to make his ignorant, blind bayardly boldness appear to all men, being joyned to his former undertakings: the other particular is that which besides what he hath of it elsewhere, he twice repeats in this place, and one of those times in different Letters, that he may be sure to have it observed how vainly and falsly he can brag of his Countrymen; which it is likely those amongst them of the wiser sort, knowing how false it is and ridiculous, are ashamed of: I have had occasion to touch it before, it is this, mentioning the Parliament now sitting, he saith, *that they were gathered together, continued and preserved by the help and aid of the Scots*, then adds *as the most envious must confess*; a leafe or two afterwards he hath it up again, *that the Scots were the cause of the assembling the Parliament, continuing it, and preserving it from a great plot, and upholding it when it was very low at their first incoming*: what little or no assistance the Parliament had by the coming in of the *Scots*, or while they stayed in the Kingdom, I have fully shewed, as also the falshood of that he speaks, concerning the low estate, when they came in; the Parliament needing their help so little to continue, preserve and uphold them, and they so little able to do any such thing, that had not the Parl. not only bin able to preserve & continue themselves without them, but to preserve them also from the opposition of the L. *Newcastles* Army, and the forces of the Northern Counties joyning with him against them, these, whom he would have the world believe, our preservers and upholders, would never in likelihood have been able to come into the Kingdom; whether when we had brought them, what did they more then lay burthens upon it? and I dare say, let all be duly considered, and weighed in the ballance of truth, what assistance we have had from them, and on the other side what charge, what pressures upon the people, and what disadvantages both in Council and in the field, (of the fidelities and activities whereof he so often boasts) any man of Judgement and indifferency will think, it had bin much better for *England* they had sat still at home, and never come into this Kingdom to uphold and preserve us, which as I have said we neither needed, nor as I have shewed before, did they any thing towards it: if there were any cause at all, or reason to move us to call them in to joyn with us, it was to prevent their joyning against us, which notwithstanding afterwards they did under *Hamilton*; otherwise we had much more prejudice by them, all things considered, then assistance; especially if the counsels they gave at the Isle of *Wight*, against the Kings passing the four Bills sent unto him (which being passed had closed up all the unhappy difference in a happy peace and agreement) be remembred with the consequenses thereof; and many wise men were of opinion, it would fall out to be so, when the debate was about their calling into the Kingdom, whose opinion therein hath since proved too true; this *for continuing*, and *preserving this Parliament* for being the cause of *assembling it*; it is true, that when the *King* seduced by the Counsels of *Laud* of *Canterbury*, and *Strafford*, with others, who perceiving that the counsels of those two men would prevail with him

him, were willing alſo to humor him in the ſame way,) was going to daſh theſe two Kingdoms in peeces one againſt another, and to that end had ſummoned the Nobility to give their attendance at *York*, that he might ingage them, and by them the more eaſily the whole Kingdom in that warre; divers of the chief of the Nobility took occaſion thereupon, out of the care of this Kingdom, and being friends alſo to that of *Scotland*, to petition the King that he would call a Parliament, and be adviſed by that great Councel of his Kingdom, before he did ingage the two Kingdoms in ſo unnatural a Warre, which might prove deſtructive to both; it was this Petition that cauſed the Parliament, together with the knowledge that the King had, that both the City of *London*, and the whole Kingdom had the ſame feare of it, which theſe noble men, to their perpetual honour, then in their Petition expreſſed; had not this been done, all that the *Scots* did, or could do, would have wrought very little upon the King to bring him to think of calling a Parliament, and therefore they *neither cauſed it, continued it*, or *preſerved it*: if I ſay often the very ſame things, it is becauſe he will ſo often tell over the ſame lies, for his ſo often inculcated braggs and boaſtings of this matter are (as moſt of the reſt) meere falſehoods; and as for *envy*, truly there was nothing done by them capable to be the ſubject of it, while they were in the Kingdom to aſſiſt us: he concludes this peece of his plea, made to excuſe his Countrymen of ſo foul a fact, with telling us, that *the common enemy did ſtrive by his agents, to make this an Apple of diſcord between the two united Nations; but it would fail him, becauſe the wiſdom of both States is ſuch that the miſtake will be taken away ſhortly, and the ſtate of England ſee clearly, that the Scots in poſſeſſing themſelves of Carlile, and excluding thoſe wicked ones above mentioned, have done a very good ſervice*: the ſhame be theirs, and ſo it will be, that put ſuch an Apple into the common enemies hands, to caſt between the Kingdoms; and had it not bin for the wiſdom uſed by the ſtate of *England*, to paſſe it by in this conjuncture of affaires (for in the other ſtate there was neither wiſdom nor honeſty ſhewed in what was done) the enemy would not have needed to uſe Agents to ſtir up the *Engliſh* to vindicate their honor from ſuch an affront put upon them, contrary to agreement and faith given: for *miſtake* there was none, but the miſs-taking, & ill detaining and keeping the Town out of our hands, the falſe dealing with us wherein was ſo apparent, that no body could miſtake it, nor clearly ſee any thing elſe in it but breach of faith, except he would uſe this mans ſpectacles, & that will not ſerve the turn, for he muſt be ſharper ſighted for than this Scot eyed man or any other, that can ſee a good ſervice done in this falſe dealing with us: for what he ſpeaks *of excluding thoſe wicked ones*, as he calls them, and to ſerve his preſent turn, muſt make them, it is a baſe ſhift, as all men may perceive; for the Parliament were thoſe, who by what was done were excluded, into whoſe hands the Town ought to have been delivered, and and they alone Judges, who were fit to be intruſted with their own Towns. Thus I have diſcovered the untempered morter wherewith he labors to plaſter over this foul cariage, and what ſtuffe the poor man is forced to bring to paint a good face upon it, but all in vain. Now we muſt follow him to *Sea*, the Land is not large enough to contain his invectives and falſe ſurmiſes vented to ſtir up diſaffection, and breed diſcontent, for other uſe, there is none of this his groundleſs inſinuating *connivence and falſe dealing* to be in thoſe who were by the Parliament imployed for the Sea ſervice; but becauſe his invention proves bar-

ren in this particular, when he had ſpattered out ſomething to ſhew his good will, he leaves and ſayes, *but to another buſineſſe*: this is the buſineſſe indeed he now comes unto, wherein his brain is never barren, but ſo fertile in inventing and ſpreading abroad ſo many uncharitable, unchriſtian, and ſhameful lies, againſt men of known integrity and honeſty, in this his Diſcourſe, that it may thereby appear (if there were nothing elſe to ſhew it) by what ſpirit the man was led and poſſeſſed in writing, publiſhing, and ſpreading abroad this ſcandalous Pamphlet. If I ſhould ſay, in this peece wherein he ſpits forth the venome of his heart againſt thoſe he puts the name of Independents upon, and ſo likewiſe in other places where he flies out in ſlanders againſt them, there are as many lies as lines, I ſhould, it may be, be thought to paſſe the bounds and limits of truth, but if I ſay the leaves do not equal the lies when he falls upon this ſubject, I ſhall fall far ſhort by that expreſſion of what will be found to be the truth; therefore to take up every one of thoſe many ſlanders and falſhoods he chargeth upon them, and give anſwer to it in particular, will not be worth the pains, conſidering what ſtuffe it is for the moſt part: *a great deal of adoe* he ſaith *there hath bin in the Synod with ſome few men*, and theſe he ſtiles *factious, fantaſticall head ſtrong ones, that are without love to the peace of the Church*; the buſineſſe is, *they will not acknowledge the Government of the Church by Paroch al Presbyteries, ſubject to the Claſſical, and Claſſical to Synodical, to be according to the word of God, and practiſe of the Apoſtles, and of the Churches in their times, all which* he ſaith, *with patience, goodneſſe, and charity towards theſe men, was evidently demonſtrated in many debates*: I ſhall firſt ſpeak to the matter, for concerning the men he followeth them afterwards with many more baſe, vile and falſe reproaches, which I will anſwer together: The ſubordination of Congregational Churches (for I leave his Pariſh and Town Churches to himſelf and his boyes) with their Officers or Presbyteries to Claſſical Presbyteries, and all to Synodical, it ſeems he meanes to Synodical Presbyteries, for his words cannot beare another ſenſe; and that theſe two latter ſhould have a power coercive over a particular Congregation, walking in Church fellowſhip, being organical and compleat in themſelves, in reſpect of Officers and Members, was no way proved, much leſſe evidently demonſtrated to be grounded upon the word of God, and practiſe of the Churches in the Apoſtles times, governed by them; it was not proved in the Synod, it could never be proved by thoſe who have indeavored it in their writings, nor ever will be out of the word of God, I am moſt confident: Nay, as theſe Claſſical and Synodical Presbyteries are framed and exerciſed in their Kirk-Government in *Scotland*, where they uſurp and exerciſe coercive power, even unto excommunication, over the Members and Officers of particular Churches, whereof they themſelves are no Members, they are no other then a humane device, brought into the Church under the pretence of a neceſſity to prevent ſchiſme and preſerve order, as one ſpeaks of the firſt uſurpation of Biſhops in the primitive times, that it was *in remedium ſchiſmatis*, neceſſary to prevent ſchiſme and keep order; as if the Lord Chriſt, in his inſtitution of Church-Government by himſelf and by his Apoſtles, had bin ſo defective, that man muſt ſtep in with his device, or order could not be preſerved in the Churches: here is the riſe and root from whence this humane device hath ſprung, which in all this diſcourſe the man will needs cloath ſome times with the name of *Religion*, then with the name of *the cauſe of God, the Government of the Church*, and ſuch

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like titles, and make himself so zealous for it, that he casts off all Christian charity, yea moral civility; when as let it be thoroughly looked into, and it will be found, that this Classis of his, with such an usurped power over particular congregational Churches, is no other then a Bishop with his usurpation of power over the Churches; his Synodical Presbyteries, a Metropolitan; his generall Assembly a Pope; the one exercising their usurped power in a way Monarchical, the other the same, Aristocratically; the one being, as by them used and maintained, as meere a humane device as the other, which they seeme so much to detest; yea, the Bishop, whom their stomack riseth so much against, hath more to say for himselfe out of the Scripture and practise of the Apostles, then they for this their Classis, the name and office of a Bishop being to bee found in the Scripture, as of the Apostles ordination, though not such as by their usurpation of power over the Churches (increasing by degrees after the mysterie of iniquity began to work) at last they had made themselves, of Apostolical Bishops turning Popish Prelates: but for their Classical Presbyteries, they will never be able in the Scriptures to finde either name or thing: this Controversie hath bin handled *pro* and *con*, by men much more able then the Schoolmaster, (though he usually takes himself to be the ablest man in the Parish) or my self, therefore I shall speak no farther of it, then to discover his want of charity and want of truth in it: he that will take the pains to read that modest Reply of learned godly Mr. *Hooker* of *New England*, unto Mr. *Rutherford*, and others upon this subject, may receive much light and satisfaction therein. As concerning the goodnes, *patience and charity shewed towards those men*, by the Presbyterians in their debates in the Synod, this I know and saw, that some of his Scotch Ministers, Mr *Henderson* by name, one of the chiefest amongst them, and I believe Mr. *Gilaspy* knowes it too, were so far from this he talkes of, that they would not have so much patience as to hear them speak out their speeches, but interrupt them, contrary to all order, in the midst of their discourse, and stop them, as Mr. *Henderson* used Mr. *Nye*, a thing so unseemly in such an Assembly, called to treat and consult about matters of that nature, as a sober Divine and a modest man should never do; freedom and liberty of speech is to be afforded to all that are members of the Assembly; when a man hath spoken, then is the time for another to answer, if he like not of what hath bin said: here was neither patience nor charity shewed, but a spirit much after the rate of this their Pamphleter. Next he brings in *some men that have*, he saith, *a shrewd guesse at these men and their wayes*, and they *affirm*, that *these men will not tell what absolutely and positively they professe, and would be at, they will never give a set model of Government unto the publick whereunto they minde to stand*; he then gives two very charitable *Reasons* hereof, (for I take all to come from himself, the men he brings in and sets up, being men of straw, serving to usher in his malicious slanders) the one is, *they cannot agree amongst themselves upon any one thing*; the second, *they will not settle upon any thing at all, but upon continuing in aphronticall fancies*: you would think, all this being vomited up, his stomack were pretty well cleared and disgorged, but there is a great deal of foul stuffe behind, for the man shewes he hath a very foul stomack, much overcharged with this Presbyterian spleen: they had little incouragement to set down and give in a set model of that Church-Government, which they hold to be of Christs institution, as unanimously and constantly as Presbyterians in place

thereof ſtand for that humane device which they have ſet up out of humane policy to prevent ſchiſme, and, as they pretend, confuſion in the Churches; for they ſaw plainly it was not deſi ed for edification, that light and truth might be imbraced, if thereby it ſhould be made appear, but only to be carped at, and traduced by men prejudiced and preingaged to their own way and opinions, with ſo much obſtinacy therein, that what light ſoever ſhould appear, their eyes would be ſhut againſt it, and all that they deſired this for, was but to finde meanes to diſgrace it, and thereby lay ſtumbling blocks before the people, to hinder them from imbracing of it; knowing this, they had little reaſon therefore to do it, yet they did that which ſufficiently confutes the malicious lies here ſet down, for they did (though not to *give it into the publick*, as his phraſe is, that ſuch an advantage and ill uſe might be made of it) ſet down their tenents which they hold concerning Church Government, and printed the ſame, ſubſcribed by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, and Mr. *Philip Nye*, in the name of the reſt, wherein it may be ſeen they ſeek not confuſion and Anarchy in the Church, as this man moſt falſely affirms of them, but hold a Government to be in the Churches, and ſuch as is *jure divino* of Chriſts inſtitution: politick humane devices, ſerving to inſnare and inſlave the Brethren under the Prieſts, and give them a Dominion over them, the ſame (though under other Lords) which the Prelates exerciſe over the people, that indeed they do not hold, but you hold it, and exerciſe it, which may much more juſtly be called *phronitici*, being a humane divice and fancy, then that Government which can be proved to be inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles: beſides this, what they did hold and agree in was fully declared by them in the Aſſembly, in the reaſons and anſwers of the diſſenting Brethren and the Aſſembly, and the tranſactions about accommodation given in in writing: and that *they are of one minde* and one judgement therein, contrary to theſe baſe lies, they that will read what theſe two have ſet forth in the name of the reſt, and compare it with that platform of Church-Diſcipline ſet forth in *New England* 1649, agreed upon by all the Churches there, will clearly ſee and be ſatisfied in: in this place, and wheresoever elſe in this Pamphlet of his he brings in theſe men, to vent his lies againſt them, this ſeldom or never fails, *that they are diſturbers of the peace of the Church in the Synod, and thoſe that are ſticklers for themſelves here*, he meanes belike in Parliament, that *they have no charity at all, that they ſacrifice the peace of the Church to the Idol of their imagination, like thoſe who cauſed their Children to paſſe through the fire to Moloch*: I ſee I ſhall be put to fall often upon the ſame particulars, and thereby it is likely repeat the ſame things, which may prove tedious to the Reader, but the mans repeating over his ſlanders and reproaches, caſt by him upon honeſt men, ſo often and in ſo many places, is the cauſe of it; for I am unwilling to let them paſſe without ſhewing how falſe they are: let it be conſidered, and by the word of God tryed, who thoſe be that ſacrifice the peace of the Churches to the Idol of their own imagination, that break all bonds of charity, and walk contrary to the Commands of our Saviour, *love one another as I have loved you*, and contrary to the Rule of the Apoſtle, *Philip.* 2. verſe 1. 2, 3. and *Phil.* 3. 16. *To be of one minde, and if there be difference in judgement, yet that for that there be no rent in affection, but in that wherunto we have attained and are come, walk together in love, and for what is indifference, wait until the Lord ſhall revelle to us what is his minde, and will therein, and not fight one againſt another for*

it, but keepe the unity of the spirit in the bond of love and peace, and so walk together in those things wherein we agree, and whereunto we have all attained; this is the doctrine our *Saviour* delivered by himself, and all his *Apostles*, not in these places alone, but throughout the whole *Gospel*; according to which if there shall be a true examination of men, and their carriages one towards another in this respect, it will be found that these imputations cast by him upon those he termes *Independents*, whether in the Synod or those he calls *stirrers for them elsewhere*, may much more justly and properly be imputed to himself and his companions those of his complexion and spirit, then charged upon any of these men; for who have more troubled the peace of the *Churches*, and still continue so to doe, and the peace of this Kingdome upon that occasion since they came into it, then those who are of this mans spirit, and who it may be finding him full of fire and fit to inflame others in this cause, set him on worke, or incouraged him thereunto? and what is there in all this Pamphlet set forth by him, but that which tendeth to divisions, to stirr up people to seditious affections first, and suitable proceedings afterwards, out of a discontent laboured to be setled in them against the proceedings of *Parliament*, as also by false tales invented to raise scandalls upon some men imployed in publick services, that the multitude and simpler sort, who cannot spye out this craft covered over with a shew of affection to *Religion* as they pretend it, may be stirred up to animosities and ill affection against them, which are like to end in ill acting, but certain to produce difference and division, with the overthrow of love and peace both in the Churches and in the State? Let any man examine the stuffe that is to be found in this whole fardell of his sent abroad by him and his abettors, and it will appear to be all such as is fitted and prepared for this purpose: and what is the onely cause and ground of all this, but that an Idol of their making and framing (for it will never be proved to be other) will not be worshipped? and to this have they, & still doe sacrifice the peace of the Churches and Kingdomes, and disturbe both as all men are witnesses; and most of all their owne actings, plots and indeavours by such scandalous writings as this, & many other practises, though never so unjustifiable, to attain their ends therein: is this agreeable with the former rules of *Christs love* and *Charity*? for suppose, and let it be granted for the time, which never will be proved, that this *Kirke-government* of theirs, about which they raise all this division and dissention, were of *Gods Institution*, and not the imagination of their owne brayne and no other then a humane policy as by them framed and exercised; yet is it so far from what the men would make the world believe it to be, by the names they put upon it, *of Religion* and the *cause of God* and *of his Church* (as if all religion consisted in setting up of this Goverment of theirs) that to Religion it is but as the list, hem or selvage to the garment, that keepes it close together from renting and continues it in that good order, which by the worke man is it first framed into: therefore for some difference in jugement about this, to cast out all Christian love & Brotherly affection, wherein consisteth Religion, (for without this all is but vaine tinckling and a meere sound) to cast it out of their hearts, out of their mouthes, their writings, lookes and conversations, so that if there appeare never so much of the Image of *Christ* in a man, yet if he be of a different Iudgement in this particular, he shall have neither good words, nor looke, but instead thereof Reproches, False Surmises, and base

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Slanders caſt upon him, which are known to be lies invented and ſpread abroad; witneſſe all this mans Diſcourſe throughout, eſpecially in this place; is this to walke according to the Doctrine of our *Saviour*, and his *Apoſtles*? Is this to love one another as *Chriſt* loveth us? would we have him caſt us off, becauſe in this or that particular we are ignorant, & not as yet convinced of that which is a truth of an inferiour nature in reſpect of the Fundamentals of Religion as this, ſuppoſe it were a truth, being alſo contraverted and diſputed about, as this is? what is this but to make it indeed an Idoll of their own imaginations, and forſake that, wherein conſiſts the power and truth of Religion, to fall downe and worſhip this Idoll which they ſet up? where doth this appeare more manifeſtly then in this mans diſcourſe and by his railings; which you will ſee afterwards to be ſuch and ſo baſe and falſe, as are unbeſeeming not onely a Chriſtian, but any morall civil man: let him therefore take the *Idoll of Imagination*, with *want of Charity*, and *diſturbance of the Churches peace*, to himſelfe and his fellowes, he and they may moſt juſtly Challenge them all, as their peculiar; I wiſh his Country men more Charitable and Chriſtian hearts, and then they will afford their Bretheren, though differing from them in judgement, better affections and better language: I have ſhewed what in truth the Government of the Churches is, and of what conſideration in reſpect of Fundamentals of Religion, that it is but as the Hedge or Mound-wall thereunto, and that notwithſtanding the want of this, thoſe who hold the foundation, and are truly built thereupon, may and ought to grow up as living ſtones, knit and joynted faſt together by love into an holy Temple and Habitation for the *Lord* by his Spirit; though it is true that this, where it is rightly underſtood, and accordingly uſed, is a great help thereunto, and a meanes to preſerve the *Saints* herein: yet that this hath bin practiſed in many places, and by many people truely Godly, though not agreeing in judgement in this particular, nor having as yet ſome of them attained to the knowledge of what is the truth in it, experience maketh manifeſt; yet this man makes it *the Ball of Striſe and Contention* throughout his whole Pamphlet, which ſtill I ſay ſheweth clearely what ſpirit poſſeſſed him in the writing of it: Let us a while further conſider, how inconſiderable the difference in this buſineſſe will appeare to be in the reſult of the debate and diſpute about it, being handled by ſober & moderate men, who know how to keepe the vnity of the Spirit in the bond love, though differing in judgement in things of ſuch a nature as this it, and not by ſuch hot-headed and fiery ſpirited men as this and his Companions, who for things of ſuch inferiour allay caſt out of their hearts, and baniſh out of their Societies all Charity, Brotherly kindneſſe and Love; is this beſeeming Chriſtians? no, it is a ſad thing, and the great ſin of theſe times, for which we may well feare theſe Iudgements are fallen upon the Nations, and I could wiſh this man and all his party had hearts duely and ſeriouſly to conſider it, and repent for what they have done in blowing this Coal ſo eagerly, and kindling this fire of diviſion and diſſention by ſo many baſe, unworthy and unchriſtian practiſes: in the iſſue of all this debate and diſpute, the difference will grow to be no other then this; Whether over particular Churches of Chriſt, there may be exercised by one over another, or by many united over any one, a

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coercive power by themſelves, or by thoſe whom they ſhall delegate for that purpoſe, as their Claſſis and ſuch like, whereof there will not be found in the Scripture any example, or a ſhadow of ſolid ground to prove the ſame: or on the other ſide, Whether that which we finde in the practiſe of the primitive Churches in the Apoſtles times, with their preſence, and by their directions, were not in ſuch caſes, as required the ſame done, and ſo ſtill to be done, by one Church or more, towards another, only by way of counſel, and after advice given by brotherly exhortations, admonitions, and reproofs, as the caſe, and their cariage thereupon required; and if any Church notwithſtanding all theſe meanes uſed with prayer and patience, yet ſhall perſiſt obſtinately in any ſcandalous errors or offences; then by conſent, for the diſcharge of their duties, and keeping their own ſocieties pure from being corrupted by ſuch examples, to declare to ſuch a Church a non-Communion with them, while th y ſhall continue obſtinate in ſuch ſcandalous ſins, and not teſtifie their repentance for them; and this without any other power uſurped, or exerciſed over them, or any of their Members in Communion with them; but this being performed (which the Communion of Churches, the band and duty of brotherly love to ſuch an erring Church, and to themſelves that they be not leavened, and in all, the honour of Chriſt requires) then to leave the ſucceſſe to the Lord, not thinking we need ſupply a defect, in what the Scripture holds forth unto us, by any devices of our own added thereunto: God will work in his own way, and by his own meanes alone, when we have uſed them we are to goe no farther: The grounds that warranta proceeding ſo far as this in ſuch caſes, I leave the Reader to ſee and ſatisfie himſelf in at his pleaſure, out of Mr. *Hookers* learned Treatiſe, entituled, *The Survey of Church Diſcipline*, and in that platform of Church Diſcipline ſet forth in *New England* 1649 which I ſpake of before: for grounds of any further uſurpation of power, by one Church or more over another, or over the Members one of anothers Church, let this Diſcourſer or any of his party, produce out of Scripture if they can; Mr. *Rutherford*, one of the learneſt amongſt them, hath endeavoured it, and withall to confute this other opinion that oppoſeth it; but let any judicious and unprejudiced man read Mr *Hookers* Anſwers to him, and others therein, in his *Survey of the ſumme of Church Diſcipline*, and he may be fully ſatisfied in theſe particulars, as I conceive. That which hath led me ſo far in the diſcourſe hereof is this mans invenomed pen, ſteeped in Gall and Vineger, and with ſo much bitterneſſe, and ſo much falſehood daſhing upon the reputation, honeſty, and piety of thoſe worthy Divines in the Synod; of whom, and others who are of their judgements, you ſhall ſee (for now I come to that which he caſts upon their perſons.)

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how unchristianably, how uncharitably out of his own evil thoughts, how basely and falsely he judgeth & speaketh of them, although all that can be made of this controversie wherein they dissent from him and his zealous party, comes to no more in the issue then what I have said, that is, Whether a coercive power (after which the Clergy have alwayes had an itching humor) or a consultative alone be in such cases to be exercised: Now for that which is of no greater consequence to Religion it selfe in the fundamentals thereof, on which side soever the truth lie, for those who professe themselves the Children of *God*, to walke in the way of carnall men, even the worst of carnall men, laying aside not Charity alone but Civility, Modesty and Truth; let them looke unto it least wrath breake out upon them for it; and let this man and his Copartners walking with him in this way of Strife, Envy, Malice, Uncharitablenesse, Slandering and Backbiting, prevent the same by repenting them timely and truely of such practises as these; let them remember what the Apostle saith 1. *Cor.* 3. 3. *When for such things they walke in Envy, Strife, and make divisions, and nourish them amongst others, are they not carnall?* let them take heed they be not found like the *Pharisees*, that being zealous for, and placing all Religion in *tithing of mint, anise and cummine, neglect those* wherein true Religion indeed doth stand, Love, Justice, and Truth: if you were able to say truly of that you make all this strife about, *this ought to be done*, yet for that *these* ought not to be neglected and cast off, but preferred far before it; but your case rather is that which *our Saviour* reproves in those quarrelling Pharisees. *Matth.* 15. 2. Who began to contend with him about his *Disciples transgressing the Traditions of the Elders*; when he tels them *they transgressed the Commandements of God, that they might establish their own traditions*, take heed the same may not be as truely said of you; and my heart would be glad if the *Lord* would please to give you all hearts to see this in your selves, and repent truly for it, that your Zeale might be according to Knowledge, and then it would not be void of Charity, & without truth. Comming now to shew the slanders and manifest lyes he casts upon the persons of those men whom he termes *Independents*, I shall in the first place speak a word to that name; the Devill in these unhappy times to begin and carry on rents and divisions betweene Brethren, and those who doe not onely professe Religion, but truly imbrace it in the power thereof (to mislead whom is his chiefe ayme) hath invented two names *Presbyterian* and *Independant*, and these he sets up and carrieth along amongst men to cast a ball of contention and division in all Companies, stirring animosities and ill affections in them one against another hereby and some alienation of affection and coldnesse even in the better sort; a diabolical device to eat out the very heart of Religion, fervent love amongst Brethren; and so let this man and all those who make themselves the Devils Agents herein and promote his design in the use of these names to such ends, know. *These factions ones* (as he terms them) *have acquired unto themselves this name of Independents, by rejecting all dependency and subordination of inferior Presbyteries to superior in Church Government*; he might with as much Scripture-ground and reason, as I have said before, have cast that name upon them for rejecting Bishops, Arch-Bishops, and

so

ſo forwards in Church-Government: they do not deny a dependency and ſubjection to that Authority which is ſet over them by God, as the Magiſtracy, whoſe Authority in civil things, and in Eccleſiaſtical, ſo far as to be *Cuſtos utriuſq; tabulæ*, they do acknowledge with much more dependency and ſubjection thereunto, than thoſe of this mans Kirk-Government (as it is maintained and exerciſed in *Scotland*) do; for a more independent thing, except it be the Pope again, let any man ſhew, than their general Aſſembly is, nay they therein will not give place to the Pope himſelf, for *In ordine ad ſpiritualia*, they will draw in all things as well as He, an evidence hereof, and of the power they have gained in that Kingdom over the people, and thereby keep and exerciſe the ſame over the higheſt, not in things ſpiritual alone, may appear by this, that lately when the Kingdom was invaded by a forraign enemy, the States of Parliament were conſtrained to ſend to them to know, Whether they might make uſe of ſuch men for Souldiers to defend the Kingdom againſt a forraign invaſion: here is an Independency, yea a Papal ſupremacy rather indeed over Magiſtrates, and the higheſt Powers, and that in temporal and civil things properly belonging to their direction. I have likewiſe read out of one of their Countrymen, writing of the power uſurped by them in their Church-Government, eſpecially by their general Aſſembly, divers inſtances thereof, amongſt which one that he brings is, that after men have had judgement given for them by the Judges in Courts of civil juſtice, upon compluint made by the party caſt in the ſute, who had Judgement given againſt him, unto theſe Kirk-Officers of his, they would take cognizance of the cauſe, and if the Judgement did not appear juſt to them, they would require the party, and injoyn him upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to take the benefit of the execution of ſuch judgement, becauſe they thought it unjuſt: theſe men are not only Independent, but will have *all that are called Gods* here amongſt men, depend upon their pleaſure; this occaſion makes me remember this again, though I touched it before, that the world may judge who they be upon whom this nickname may moſt juſtly be caſt: I ſuppoſe they may ſay, he that wrote this was a Malignant Epiſcopal man, one that was an enemy to their Church-Government; be it ſo, *fides ſit penes Authorem*, but it is matter of fact, and as I remember, the fact not much denyed by him that anſwereth him, however common experience amongſt them will be ſufficient to juſtifie him, if his affirmation be true; and common experience doth ſufficiently manifeſt to all men, who know their proceedings in that Kingdom, that the independency which their general Aſſembly would aſſume to themſelves, and exerciſe there, is ſo abſolute, that it is Paramont to all: to whom then will this name agree ſo properly as to themſelves, and where can the men be found, that do aſſume ſo much *independency*, even in reſpect of the higheſt civil Authority, as theſe men do, *to acquire* thereby *ſuch a name?* notwithſtanding that this upon examination will be found true, yet I would be far from fixing ſuch baſe ſlanders and manifeſt lies upon any of them as this man, out of no other ground then his own evil heart, nor with any other proof then the bare affirmation of his own falſe deceitful Tongue, chargeth theſe men withall whom he will have to be Independents; *factious, fantaſtical, head-ſtrong ones*, you have had before, next he caſts the name of *Seekers* upon them, alluding to a Company of men, that theſe men have little to do with all, or little acquaintance with, as he know-

eth well enough, and therefore ſaith that *but a few of them go under that name*, but he will needs name them thus, becauſe he ſaith *there never was a Generation amongſt men ſo nimble and active in ſeeking after preferment and profit:* one inſtance of the man, or of the thing he chargeth them withall, amongſt them all he never produceth, nor can produce; *Satis eſt Calumniari fortiter*, he hopes ſomething may ſtick and turn to his advantage thereby; but this in the mean time will ſtick cloſe to him, and if he caſt it not off by true repentance, caſt him out of the dores of Gods houſe, for *without ſhall every one be that maketh or loveth a lie*; and *lying lippes are an abomination to the Lord*: let him not thinke to put it off by ſaying *he could bring many inſtances, but he forbeares names in all his diſcourſe*, as he ſaith in another place; This is a meere ſhift as I have ſaid before, this whole Diſcourſe diſcovereth ſufficiently the man not to be of that modeſty as to forbeare Names if he could with any probabilitie fix his ſlanders upon the perſons he did name; as in this place; for let the perſons he intends here and would thereby diſcredit and defame, be named, and he would be thought worthy to be hiſſed or whipped out of the Towne, for a notorious Lier and Slanderer, let him therefore either inſtance, in naming the perſons that doe ſuch things, and prove it by expreſſing where and when thoſe things were done by them, or be accounted ſuch, as Iuſtice requires he ſhould be: he drawes out his lies in length, and goeth on *comparing them to Ieſuits, but preferring them far before them, in running up and downe to lay hold on power and monie, wherein they have, by their craft and the ſlilineſſe of other men*, he ſaith, *ſped well*; *divers of all ranges* he brings in *to ſide and tog with them for profit and imployments*, and amongſt them he will not except the *higher amongſt men*: we know very well it is familiar with him *to ſpeak evill of Dignities*: he proceeds and ſaith, *on the other ſide, they will receive none into their Societies, but men of meanes and gifts, poore people and ſimple are prophane in their account; they worke hugely with with Rich mens wives, Widowes, and Daughters; ſtirring fellowes in any kinde are good for them; that they may carry on their buſineſſe the more ſmoothly, they plead for Charity, that there might be a charitable interpretation of their Carriage and proceedings*, and then (which is fearfull theſe being ſuch known lies) he takes the name of God and atteſts his knowledge of it, ſaying *God knoweth they are deſtitute of all Charity towards the Church or particular men, diſtwbing the Peace of the Church, and oppreſſing every honeſt man they can reach, in Hatred to Faithfulneſſe unto the good of Church and State, as ſeeking confuſion in the one, and Anarchy in the other*; then he inſinuates with *the well-meaning people* (as he termes them) who follow them and ſaith, *there be many ſuch honeſt people that adhere to Jeſuites, but neither the one nor the other are acquainted with their myſteries of iniquity, nor are of their ſecret faction, nor of the cabal*; concluding with this unchriſtian judging, that *the profeſſion they make of holineſs, is no other then Capuchins hypocriſie*. I have here ripped up his fardel, and laid open all his ſtuffe, ſuch as it is, which I thought I ſhould not have put my ſelfe to the trouble to do, but I am contented to rake the pains, that the man might appeare to all at large in his right colours, and that it might thereby appear how little conſcience he makes of what he ſpeaks or writes, ſo that it will ſerve for his turn: for having reckoned up theſe baſe ſlanders of his in particular, I ſhall willingly appeal to the conſciences of any ingenuous men, to whom thoſe Divines in the Synod, upon whom he caſts theſe invented lies of his, are known, if they do not think them as far from the practiſing or allowing of any ſuch things

things, as he is from truth and honesty in charging them therewith; and indeed, when these things which his foul mouth, out of a cankered malicious stomack, belcheth forth against these Divines (for of them he speaketh as we see in the beginning of his railing) shall be compared with their carriage and conversations, so well and so long known to godly and pious men of both judgements in this controversie, I do believe this man will be thought worthy to be brought to his *stoole of repentance*, and that in a serious manner, for such base slanders cast upon the Ministers of God, without so much as the least shadow of truth: to go them over in particular again to confute them is not worth my labor and trouble, since the very knowledge of the men is a sufficient confutation of such base ridiculous stuffe, invented to defame them, which cannot but stink in the nostrils of every good man that knowes them: besides what should I confute, when he only affirms of them manifest known lies, and brings no one proof or instance of any one of the things he slandereth them withall? as they are all lies, and known to be so, except he had offered something in proof of any of them, to which I might have given answer, I will confute them altogether by affirming barely as he doth, but with much more truth, That they are all base invented lies, and known to be so; and this is his way of carrying on his good Cause in hand: matter of fact indeed will confute him in one thing most apparently, which may serve to shew the rest are all of the same stuffe, invented lies as this is known to be, that is, *that they will admit of none into their Societies but such as are rich, men of means, and parts; the poor* (he saith) *they account prophane*; the notorious shameleſse impudency of this malicious lie will appear to all men, when they shall look into their Congregations, the neereſt and deareſt Societies they have, and see them consist most of the poorer sort, for they usually are *rich in faith*, and receive the Gospel; and such without other respect, these Ministers have received into their Church-fellowships, as is apparent, not *having the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons*, as he falsely accuseth them. Also for *their exceeding Jesuits in the craft and cunning of getting wealth and preferment*, the little portion these have gotten of either, will thrust that lie back again down his throat, by the consent of all that know them and their Estates. But for that unchristian judging of his, that *their strictneſse* in keeping themselves more closely in their Conversations to the rule of the word then other men, *is nothing but the hypocriſie of the Capuchins*, this is the same which heretofore when the distinguishing names which then were in use, were *Protestant: at large, & Puritan*, or *Precisian* (for the Devil will never be without his dividing names to breed dissention) profane persons, and loose livers were wont to cast upon godly men, whose religious walking discovered their looſneſse of life, they used to say as he doth here, that *they were all Hypocrites, and made but a shew of greater holineſse then other men*: here he takes up the practise of those who could not indure the light, but hated piety and Religion, judging others out of their own evil thoughts and malice: but let this man, and all others who joyn with him in these practises, remember what our Saviour hath commanded, and his threatnings, *Judge not least you be judged; for with what judgement you judge others, you your selves shall be judged, and with what measure you mete, it shall be meated unto you again*; and this often times the Lord so ordereth, that it is done here by men, but if true repentance prevent it not, never faileth to be done by himself. I shall end with bringing in one thing more,

which he in another place will needs fling upon theſe men (for whereſoever he meets with them, his cholerlike fire boils up and burſts forth upon them) and that is a *Character* which he ſaith *one giveth to a certain people*; and this muſt in juſtice be attributed to them (ſuch juſtice as he uſeth all along) *arrogant, inconſtant, and extream jealous of other men, they court and feaſt them for their own profit, and when their turn is done, reject them and care not for them*; to this I ſay no more, but could be glad it were not too true, that in this Character he paints forth to the life, thoſe who are nerer home to him, and his Neighbours & Companions, in theſe his unchriſtian practiſes of ſlandering men of beſt merit and deſert; and I wiſh ingenuous, eſpecially pious men, who know not theſe mens converſations, not having been acquainted with them, would but read ſome of their Books and Sermons which are in print, and ſee what ſpirit ſpeaks therein, and thereby judge what ſpirit this ſlanderer is poſſeſſed withall. He proceeds to tell how *the buſineſs concerning the Church-Government is no ſooner concluded, maugre the Independents, but other difficulties ariſe; ſuch obſtacles the enemy caſts in the way to hinder the building of the Temple; ſome will not allow it to be of Divine Right, others make a great ſtir againſt the Power of the Presbytery, to caſt out and receive into the Church whom they will, and would have this power in the Magiſtrate*; upon this he falls into a diſcourſe, *that the power of the Magiſtrate, and that power of the Keys*, (as it is termed) *which the Magiſtrate is not to meddle with, are two diſtinct powers, the Church-Officers likewiſe therefore are not to meddle with what belongs to the civil Magiſtrate*; in this laſt he is right for the Doctrinal part, but let experience tell, how they in *Scotland* have obſerved this towards the Magiſtrate, and walked anſwerable thereunto in their practiſe: Although this be a truth, he delivers in this part of his diſcourſe, concerning the diſtinction that ought to be obſerved, and kept between Miniſters of the civil State, who are not to adminiſter the Ordinances of Chriſt in his Churches, nor meddle with things meerly ſpiritual, as the ſentence of Excommunication, but *onely* (as he rightly ſaith) to *overſee the Miniſters of theſe ſpiritual things, that they do their duty faithfully and diligently* in adminiſtring the Ordinances of Chriſt, committed to their adminiſtration for the ſpiritual Government of his people, and *not to meddle farther*; although I ſay, he be right in his ſtating this difference, alwayes to be obſerved, that the one incroach not upon the office of the other; yet there is juſt cauſe to deny the placing of any ſuch power wholly in their Presbyteries, as they have framed them, and as they do exerciſe this power alone by them; or indeed in any Presbytery, how rightly ſoever conſtituted, or Church-Officers in any Congregation, without the conſent of that Church, wherein they are Officers, or a Presbytery as joyned together, which is the ſame; they are *Præſes* in the whole buſineſſe, and in the management and ordering thereof in their Churches, and in pronouncing ſuch ſentence as the Church ſhall agree upon; but without the conſent of the Church, or contrary thereunto, to place a power in the will of any Presbytery, to caſt out and receive in whom they pleaſe in the Church, is no other, if without prejudice it be conſidered and examined, than what he here ſaith of the *Prelates, to make themſelves Lords and Maſters of Chriſt's Flock and Heritage*; for what difference is there, whether this be done by one Prelate, or four or five Presbyters? there juſtly might therefore be an oppoſition made (which he calles a *ſtirre*) againſt ſuch an uſurpation of power into their own hands alone, as the Presbyters ſought after, over the flock

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or flocks of Christ, to Lord it over them at their owne wills: the Clergy, as I have said, and it is but too true, have ever bin leaning this way, and are so still, even many of the best amongst them, they can see this to be an unjust and unwarantable usurpation in a Bishop, but not in themselves, though the difference be but what I have before shewed: Let every one keepe within the Limits set by our *Saviour*, who best knowes how to direct a Government for his Saints, and then there will be neither Tyranny exercised by a Prelate, nor by Company of Priests, nor *Confusion and Anarchy in the Churches*, which this man so much prattles of, and seemes to feare, *if weake men* (as he will fancy the Church Members to be) *have any hand or consent in the Government thereof*, though it be that which concernes their owne Spirituall Communion, but what saith the Apostle, *these Saints* (which he cals *weake men humorous and fancyfull*, and therefore all must be left in the hand and power of the Presbyteries to do what they please, as is the Scotch custome and pattern,) *shall judge the world, shall judg the bad Angels*, and must they be excluded from judging who are fit or unfit, to be admitted into their Fellowship and spiritual Communion, or cast out of it; when neither the one, nor the other is to be done without their consent, for by that it is that they are joyned and knit together into that spirituall Communion and Fellowship amongst themselves? Wonder not therefore that men stirr against such a tyranny. Then, where as he saith *the Church Government was concluded, maugre the Independents*, I have shewed before, that these upon whom he would cast that name in the Houses, were the men who desired, and for that end promoted the Ordinances for setling some Goverment in the Churches, when others sat still in it, because their humours and fancies, or this power which they so eagerly grasped after, were not complied with, and granted them by the Houses: To allow that Government, which this man would have to be set up according to his Scotch pattern, in this kingdome, to be of divine right, which neither was demonstrated, nor ever will be, had bin not to set up and build a Temple, but instead thereof a meer humane device and policy; and were this, you so stickle and strive for, and make such divisions and rents about, the true Temple, we should have it built with fewer knocks and much lesse noyse.

In the next place he plaies the Politick-would be, and runs out into a discourse to shew how *the neighbouring Nations, for their severall ends, keepe the King in his obstinacy of going on in thoswy*, which he saith *they have engaged him in*, and then tels you of the *Pope, France, Spaine, Holland*, and *Denmarke*, with their severall ends, aims and reasons of keeping us under these troubles, and nourishing this division between the *King* and *Parliament*, as if he were of the Cabinet Councel to them all; for this discourse, I leave it as a lecture to be read by him to his Boyes; men of understanding know the man to be beyond his Last, when he falls upon these businesses and would have you believe he can discover the plots & projects of all Christendom unto you; he will very gravely *admonish others, when they take upon them to meddle with those things, they have not bin bred up unto, nor have experience in*; but the Pedagogue is a man so well bred, that you must heare him in all things, and what is there that he is not fit for, & experienced in, to direct and reprove all sorts of men? for undertake it he will of what nature soever the things be, as I have touched before upon occasion. Out of this discourse he falls into another of *the disaster be-*

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fallen the good partie in his *own Countrie*, by meanes of *Montrosse* and the inconsiderable partie joyned with him; *this*, he saith, *he knoweth will be expected from him*. I cannot tell whether the *Scots* did expect such a Relation from him or will give him thankes for it, for he takes upon him to schoole them very magisterially in this place, and soone after he saith of them *that there is nothing that a Friend or a Kinsman will not make a Scot to doe*. I leave this discourse also to be answered by the *Scots* his Countrie-men, *whether it were by Treacherie & falsehood in him who Commanded in chief, with the falsehood of other inferiour Officers and of men put into imployment, who were not to be trusted*, for which he reproves those that had the Government of things in their hands; or whether it fell out otherwaies; I leave his Countrie-men to give an account to Mr. Schoolemaster of all at their leasures.

He now returnes to the *Independents*, and hunts hard to finde out a fault to fix upon them, which since he cannot doe, he accompts it *Wisedome to speake freely and raise Jealosies of them and suspitions, that so truth*, he saith, *may be found out? which because it cannot be found out by Mathematical & Metaphysical Demonstrations (to let you know he hath some Schoole-termes) therefore he runs into a discourse to shew it is a part of Wisedome to suffer men to vent their imaginations freely*, as himselfe all a long doth his lies, and he gives this reason for it, *If there be no ground for what is said, it will fall of it selfe, but if there be, by these stirring speaches it will appeare and be brought to light*; he farther finds fault, that *some have suffered for their free expressions concerning these things*, for *he is confident it had been greater wisdome to let goe free speaches, and not examine them to nicety when they proceed out of Zeale to the good cause, which may perhaps make a man exceed the exact termes of moderation*: a very good Doctrine for to be delivered by a Christian, to find out truth by stirring lies and slanders; it would have fitted a Jesuite much better, but in respect of himself and this discourse of his, it is a very necessary advice given, and in respect of his complices; for it may be here he meanes the sufferings of *Cranford* for his lies vented upon the Exchange, which he when he was questioned for them, said, Mr. *Baylie*, the *Scotch* Minister and Commissioner, sent him thither to divulge, which I have spoken of before. *He forbeares* (he saith) *instances, as in all his discourse, keeping himself in generalls, though he could have furnished divers examples upon every point he hath touched; and though it be said, He that speaks in general to all, and of all, speaks to none and of none; yet all those that be guilty, may apply it to themselves*: but what if none be guilty of those lies that are spoken and spread abroad? oh then they will fall of themselves, and there is no harm done; but are not you in the mean time, a notorious uncharitable lier and slanderer, and is that no hurt to your selfe and others? mark what an unchristian position is here laid down and maintained by him, yea such as a moral man would be ashamed to owne; *to raise groundlesse jealousies, speak freely upon surmises only, and spread abroad slanders against men, if you suspect them, though you have no proofe, that by this meanes the truth may be found out*: this is the substance of what he hath said; a good means found out by a man who presently after professeth *to have writ all this in all sincerity, without the least ill meaning to any man, for the glory of God and the good of the Church*; I wish he did not bring in the name of God in these his practises, God will not be honoured by the Devils means; for such is lying and slandering upon suspition and groundlesse surmises, to bolt out truth,

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which here he makes a part of wiſdome, it is not *that wiſdome which is from above, but altogether carnall, Senſuall, and Devilliſh*, as appeares *Jam.* 1. 26. and 3. 14. 15. 1. *Cor.* 13. God needs not, nor will not be helped, or have his Churches Cauſe promoted by the lying practiſes of men. Having laid open this Unchriſtian dreſſe of his, wherein he indeavours the more ſafely to carry on and bring in this ſlander, which upon meere evill ſurmiſe he deſires to caſt upon Independents, and make men thereby jealous of them for falſe dealing, and having Correſpondency with the Enemie; I will now come to the matter it ſelfe; and as he forbeares Names that he might not be convinced of manifeſt falſehood, as he would, if he ſhould name the men, in the judgements of all that know them; ſo I will, that the truth may be the better tryed and known in this particular by any man that will examine it, name the men who can teſtifie the truth of what I ſhall ſay in anſwer to theſe jealouſies, which his ill affection makes him indeavour to raiſe in mens mindes againſt the men his corrupt ſtomack cannot brooke. He begins this matter thus, *there hath been of late great bluſterings of ſome under-hand ſecret dealings with the enemy by ſome few men, without the knowledge of the publick*: here is the matter of his ſlander which he would caſt upon Independents, and root a jealouſie thereby in mens mindes of them, for to take away or leſſen their eſteem he thinks to be for the advantage of his good cauſe; *that you may underſtand the thing more at length*, he ſaith, *be will call to minde the Kings ſending Commiſſioners hither the laſt winter to Cajeole; who according to their order, did Cajeole the Scots and Independents*: this is brought in, as he termes it, *at length*, that he might take occaſion thereupon to cleare his *Scots*, and make the Independents more liable to ſuſpition: *how farre they then prevailed with the Independents, be cannot tell* (if he could you ſhould be ſure to have it) *but for the Scots, he is ſure they did not gain the leaſt point of any thing, no not of expreſſion, or of thought* (for this undertaker will undertake for thoughts) *or any thing that might have ſo much as a doubtful interpretation*, and ſo runs on in their praiſe, till he be out of breath, as we uſe to ſay, both in reſpect of their faire cariage, and alſo of their hearts: to all which I will only anſwer, as I have formerly ſaid I would, in reſpect of matters of treaty, that how far thoſe caieolers prevailed with the *Scots*, let their carriage at the Conference, and afterwards at the Iſle of *Wight*, and the company they caballed with when they quitted honeſt and well affected men, (*at which* he confeſſeth *there were great murmurings*) bear witneſſe, for all this fell out afterwards. *The Treaty being ended without agreement, the Court* (he ſaith) *ſent one hither, who though he ſaid he ſtole away*, yet this man will have him *come with their knowledge*, and not ſo onely but *with expreſſe order and directions*; for it is enough if he onely think ſo, he ſtands not in ſuch things upon *mathematical demonſtrations*; if he ſuſpect it, he will affirm it *is ſo*, to bring forth truth; and the other affirms with as much proofe, but with more knowledge, *it is not ſo*; for me, let it ſtand between them: he gives him foul language enough; *in the Court language*, he ſaith, *he is a great Cajeo'er, in his own plain language*, he calls him *a meer cheater*, this to do is no novelty with him, let it concern whom it will; he ſaith of him *that he hath vowed to coſen thoſe of his party if he can by lies*; if this were true, it were indeed ſomething worſe than to ſerve thoſe of his party with lies, as we ſee here done, though that be bad enough: Now to the buſineſſe, *this Cajeoler* (as he will

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terme him) *firſt endeavours* (he ſaith) *to cajeole the Scots, but finding a cold coal there to blow, he leaves that deſigne, and makes his addreſſes to the Independents*: what a cold coal he met withall in the *Scots*, may appear by this, that the next morning after he came to Town, the chiefeſt of them was at his bed-ſide before he was out of his bed, it ſeems he was not afraid to be cajeoled; of the truth of this report, let him whom I meane to name be asked: *for the Independents*, here is the miſery, *how he ſped with them*, the *man doth not know*, he cannot hunt out that which he would have to defame them with, yet that it may be in hope, he ſaith, *things are not yet manifeſted*: willingly would he keep up in mens minds an expectation of ſome great matter againſt thoſe, whom, though he burſt with envy at them, and malice, as appears throughout this Pamphlet, yet he is not able to charge with any crime or falſehood, and prove it; all that he can produce is but ſurmiſes, having no other ground than his own evil thoughts, indeavouring thereby to nouriſh jealouſies, and hold up ſuſpitions in the mindes of *his ſimpler ſort*, though without any ground at all. *Some fidling buſineſs there hath been between him and them*, he ſaith, *whether by the whole caball or ſome prime of the faction it is unknown to the world, that there was ſome underhand dealing by them with the enemy*, he will at leaſt bring ſome pretence, that he may continue ſuſpicions, though he can prove nothing; and two things he alledgeth, wherein he ſaith, *there were ſhrewd proofes*; one was *Digbies intercepted Letters to Legg*, and the other, *papers found in the Ceſtolers friends Cloſet, ſome written with his own hand, which point at things not ſo fair*: here be things ſpoken in general, fit to nouriſh jealouſies and ſuſpitions in ſimple peoples mindes, but nothing at all fit to prove what he would aſperſe theſe men with; for why doth he not tell the world what it was that was contained in thoſe letters, or what one particular in them did give cauſe of ſuſpition, that there was any under-hand dealing? and why doth he not ſpeak out, what that was which was found in the papers that pointed at things not ſo fair? either he knew the particulars, or not; if he knew them, why doth he not ſet them down that they might be judged of? would they not bear water if produced, you ſhould have them; if he knew not what was in thoſe papers and letters to this purpoſe, then is he a lyer and deceiver, to offer them to others as grounds of jealouſies and ſuſpition, when he himſelf knowes not any ground for ſuſpition that may be gathered from them. But how can the man without bluſhing ſpeak of *Digbies intercepted Letters*, diſcovering an under-hand dealing with the enemy, when he ſhall call to minde what *Digbies* intercepted Letters diſcovered of that kinde concerning his *Scotch* Commiſſioners? when theſe letters were formerly mentioned, it was not ſaid, *there was ſomething in them which gave a ſhrewd proofe*, but what was in them was expreſſed, which was in plain termes, *That the Scotch Commiſſioners were in Treaty with Digby*, being the Kings principal Secretary: this dealing was fair and clear, & had the man ſuch a thing in *Digbies* Letters, or any where elſe, you ſhould be ſure to have had it in particular, and in great Letters. I ſhall now clearly & fully in particular, without keeping my ſelfe deceitfully *in generalls*, as this Pamphleter doth, declare what the matter of fact was in this whole buſineſſe, for it can come open faced into the view of any without ſhame; and whereas the envious man cries out *to have it fully and exactly tryed*, hoping as he ſaith, *that then he ſhall have ſome light* for his purpoſe, it was exactly tryed and ſifted to the bottom, by a Committee appointed for that purpoſe, in favour

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to a friend of his *Scotch* Commissioners, deeply concerned in the businesse, and by the help and meanes of some of those whom his Commissioners had (as you have heard) lately taken by the hand, as they had done this man concerned, and with whom now their consultations and Caballs were. The man to whom his foul mouth is so liberall of foul language, was the Lord *Savil*, who coming from *Oxford* to *London* (as any might who would submit themselves to the Parliament, and put themselves into their hands) lodged at his first coming thither, in the house of the Lady *Temple*, one that was his Daughter in Law, a Lady known to be well affected to the Parliament, and Religion, but no Independent; during the time he lodged there, he expressed himself, being now come to the Parliament, willing to do them the best service he could, to manifest the reality of his intentions, and thereupon told the Lady *Temple*, that having, a little before he came from *Oxford*, had conference with the Lord *Newport*, who had that power with *Legge* then Governor of *Oxford*, that he could do any thing with him, he was perswaded by what he had heard from *Newport*, that upon some good conditions they would be a meanes to deliver *Oxford* unto the Parliament, and desired he might but have liberty to send thither, if it should be thought fit to make a tryal thereof, and do his best indeavour with *Newport* and *Legge* to bring it to passe, intimating farther, as I remember, that at that time they were both in discontent: the Lady *Temple* hereupon informs some of the Committee of both Kingdoms, of this which the Lord *Savil* hath told her, and they acquainted the Committee with it, and procure a passe for him to send one to *Oxford* to make tryal what my Lord *Newport* would do herein: the Gentleman that was to go, before his going comes to one of those whom the Lady *Temple* had first acquainted therewith, and demanded of him, whether he would command him any thing to *Oxford*? who answered, he had nothing to do with *Oxford*, and refused to entertain any speech with him about it: the Gentleman who was sent, was Mr. *Howard*, one of the Brothers of the Earl of *Suffolk*, who knoweth this to be a truth: when he came to *Oxford*, the Lord *Newport* was not there, but gone into the *West*; so he delivered the Letters to *Legge*, openly before others, who thereupon thinking it to be for his safety so to do, (as it was afterward said) acquainted the Lord *Digby* therewith, and he the King: upon this, *Legge* hath directions to entertain the businesse, and carry on the Treaty, it may well be to draw us into a Trap, to which end, that *Naylor* his Countryman also, of whom he speaks before, might be sent to tell that tale which afterwards he would never appear before the Committee to own again: whether the delivery of the Letters so openly (which by the Lord *Savil* was made the cause of *Legge* acquainting the Lord *Digby* with them) or the Lord *Savils* confidence in him and *Newport* without good ground, or the Lord *Newports* absence were the occasion that the businesse was so carried when it came to *Oxford*, I will not trouble my self withall, but the Committee would meddle no more with it, though the Lord *Savil* said, he would however write again about it to the Lord *Newport*; and to do him right in it, this is some evidence that he had no ill meaning to the Parliament in the businesse, because when *Legge* would have continued the Treaty about it, and he knew how it had been carried, he fully acquainted the Committee with it, which had he bin of a plot in the businesse he would never have done. Here you have the truth of this businesse, upon which he would cast this false aspersion of under-hand dealing with the

enemy, upon those he calls Independents: for *Digbies* Letters, if there were any such to *Legge* intercepted, it is likely they were to wish him to continue the Treaty with *Savil*, all which *Savil* acquainted the Committee with: but observe herein the malice of this man, not caring what he saith forward and backward, so that by his lies he may raise jealousies of these men, whom he envies for their integrity to the Publick, and refusing, to the prejudice thereof, to go along with his Countrymen for their ends; before you may see the same men whom he aims at, both there and here, though indeed it falls upon the whole Committee in both places, are traduced by him and slandered as *false to the cause*, because upon that foolish tale of *Napier*, the relation whereof you have heard before, *they would not send forces to surprize Oxford; Now they must be false and have under-hand dealing with the enemy, because* upon such an information as this *they thought it fit to make a tryall what it would come unto*, which could be done without any danger or hazard at all in this case, though not so in that; and here they had the person informing in their hands, but in the other he that informed was slipped away, and would not appear to own his Intelligence: Every understanding man, by these, and divers other particulars of the same kind in this Pamphlet to be observed, cannot but see the scope of it to be, for base Scotch-serving ends, to slander and defame men of honesty and integrity by lies, of what fashion, or colour soever they be, though never so inconsistent one with another, so that they may be drawn at least to raise jealousies in the mindes of men against them. I will leave nothing behinde in the relation of this business, that the integrity of those men he is continually snarling at, and his falsehood therein may the more appeare: after this there came a Letter to the Lord *Savil* from *Oxford*, in which, with other things discourſed of, there was this passage; *The Parliaments man who keeps Intelligence with the King, and from whom he hath all his Intelligence*, is such a Man, and sets down his Name in cypher, the key whereof the Lord *Savil* had, and therewith presently decyphering of it, knew the name; when he had received this letter, he acquaints the Lady *Temple* with it, and one Mr. *Gurdon* a Parliament man, and an honest religious Gentleman, but a Presbyterian throughout, though not of this mans fiery Zeale, that cannot endure Godly men if they differ in judgement from him, his religion is more pure and agreable to the commands of our *Saviour*, loving the members of *Christ* where he seeth them, and image of *Christ* in them, though in this particular they differ from him in judgement: the Lady *Temple* and Mr. *Gurdon* acquaint the former Parties herewith, and the Letter is produced and seen; upon this, those of the Committee who were made acquainted with it, consider amongst themselves, what was fit for them to do therein: the man named in the Letter had many friends in the House, and at that time could sway very much therein by the party he had there; and there being no other proof but a Letter from *Oxford*, it might be thought a design purposely to disgrace him, and render him suspected; on the other side, his carriage of late had been so different from what it had formerly been in the beginning of the Parliament, and leaning so much towards the Court upon all occasions, that it made such an advertisement the more considerable: therefore after they had debated it amongst themselves some time, they call some of their friends, who were members of the House, and judicious men, whom they acquaint with it, and desire their advice; in the end it was resolved by all, that it was fittest

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for Mr *Gurdon*, to whom the Lord *Savil* had first related it, to acquaint the House with it, and leave it to their considerations; not thinking it to stand with their duty and fidelity, to smother such a business brought to them without their seeking or thinking of it; the house might judge of it as they pleased, and proceed to further examination of it, as they thought fit, they having therein acquitted themselves, and discharged their duty: when Mr. *Gurdon* had made the House acquainted with it, the Gentleman first protested his Innocency therein with much passion, even unto Tears; his Party thereupon made a great bussling, which were many, consisting not only of those who inclined to the Court, but much augmented by the falling in of all those with them who were disaffected and stirred up with great animosity against such as they thought to be the Authours or Instruments of the new modelling of the Army, whereby they, by the self denying Ordinance, were removed, both General and Officers, which both resented sufficiently, and therefore when it came in their way, upon any occasion they were ready to joyn to express their resentment of it, against these men, though they joyned with those for the doing of it, with whom before they had been at greatest difference, and distance, as appeared in this particular, and against those by whom they had before bin most obliged, as it is well known, and who not out of dis-respect to them, but respect only to the Publick, did interest themselves in this service of new framing the Army, with how much need let the world judge, and with how much successe let the Lord alone have the praise, who hath pleased to make it manifest; and for the manner of doing it, it was so carried, that it might be done without any disgrace or reflection upon former miscarriages; that which was called the self-denying Ordinance, requiring in generall for the future, That no Member of either House should be an Officer in the Army, and thereby withdrawn from attending the duty of his place in Parliament, and discharging the trust reposed in him: by the conjunction of these, with the friends of the Gentleman, and the sense the House had of the passion he expressed (those from whom the information came, having done thereby their part and duty, not at all speaking or stirring farther in it) the House was moved to examine it, as if it had bin a design of some, and a practise to wrong the Gentleman being a Member of the House, the House therefore desired that there might be a Committee of both Houses to examine it, because there were Members of both Houses, who had bin at first made acquainted with the Letter, and whom it may be some of these disaffected men upon the occasion I have mentioned, hoped to find somewhat against, though their obligations unto them deserved more friendship, and a better requital, than to wait for their halting; and which was most strange, the Gentleman himself was made by the House of Commons one of the Committee, though he only were concerned in the cause: all which I have the rather fully opened and expressed, that it may appear the business was examined to the utmost, and if any thing could have bin found out, that might have reflected upon these men he would slander, he had his desire, for it was hunted after with eagernesse enough: the Lady *Temple* being examined, and Mr *Gurdon*, and then the rest of the Committee of both Kingdoms, to whom they had given the information of the business, which they had received from the Lord *Savil*; those of the Committee refused not (though happily they might) when they were desired to speak what they knew of it, and answer questions propounded unto them, by those who were to examine it, who whether they had any

Authority, by Order of both Houſes, to examine or interrogate them, they might have made it a queſtion, but they told them clearely what Information they had received, and that they thought it their duty in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them, to adviſe Mr. *Gurdon* to make the Houſe acquainted with it, and that it might remaine to their Iuſtification, ſome of them would, and did put it in writing, and ſo give it to the Committee; when nothing could be found at all that could in the leaſt degree reflect upon thoſe of the Committee, whom the man will make his Independents, in the iſſue, for the clearing of the Gentleman, the Lord *Savill* is ſhowen upon, who being examined, and juſtifying the Letter, and his giving the Information to thoſe of the Committee without their practiſing with him at all about any ſuch matter, or knowing any ſuch thing, until it came from him unto them, as it is moſt certainely true that they did not, nor ſo much as thinke of it, though their enemies, it may be, hoped, having ſuch an occation to draw it at leaſt to a ſuſpition of ſomething againſt them; *Savill* hereupon muſt be Baniſhed the Towne, and not live in *London* to doe the like ill offices. If the Gentleman were innocent (as for my part I ſhould deſire it, and of ſecret things will be no Iudge) he that wrote the Letter did him a great deale of wrong, and hath much to anſwer for it; but I will maintaine to all the world, that thoſe of the Committee of both Kingdomes conſidering how it came to them, with all circumſtances conſidered likewiſe, had failed in their duty, if they had not adviſed Mr. *Gurdon* as they did: and could this Envious, Malicious Man finde out againſt them but any ſuch thing don by them, as the ſmothering and concealeing of ſuch an information come unto them, concerning any mans holding ſecret Intelligence with the King, and informing him of all things being a Member of the Parliament, you ſhould have had the man make halfe his Volume of it, and rant it againſt them without meaſure, who doth ſo much now, when he is not able, doe what his little witt & leſſe honeſty can, to ſqueeſe out any thing that can reflect upon them. Here you have as I promiſed, at large in particular, what paſſed betweene *this Caterer of the Court, and the Independents* as he is pleaſed to name them both, that you may as I have often ſaid, the better Iudge of his impudent Falſehood, and their Integrity, whom for his baſe ends, his aime and ſcope in all is to ſlander and belie: it may be alſo that upon this occaſion the truth of ſome things, which have not hin ſo well underſtood, may be the better known, which is and ſhall be my End in all this Anſwer to his lying Diſcourſes. What he next comes unto I ſhall paſſe having already fully anſwered it; as his indeavour to cleare the Scotch Army for not following the Forces eſcaped out of *Naſeby Fight*, their doing nothing afterwards at *Hereford* or elſe where, neither Fighting, nor ſo much as ſeeking the enemie that they might fight him and diſperſe his Forces; his excuſing *David Leſly*; his lies againſt Independents; to all theſe I have ſpoken already: his idle Diſcourſe in making objections and anſwering them againe, with *ingrate that thou art, &c*; brought in to make the world believe *the Scots had made themſelves miſerable to deliver us out of miſery*, and *that it was not our Money they ſo ght for, or came for*, it is not worthy the anſwering; that they came not for our Monie, let him believe it that liſteth, but that they fought very little for what monie of ours they had that we all know: having run out ſufficiently in declaring againſt our ingratitude in not helping them, nor pitying them in their miſery, (which I have ſhewed to be moſt falſe) *that though they Crucified themſelves for us, yet we for the promiſe of a ſmall help at ſo dear a rate*, by which what he meaneth I know

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not, nor I think any man elſe, but for him to Coyne and invent to ſerve his turne is nothing ſtrange: then he ſaith *this will be blamed by poſterity, when it ſhall be recorded what Scotland hath done and undergone for their Brethren, and what thanks they have had for their paines*; indeed if there ſhould come no other Records to poſterity than this which you hope to tranſmit that they may be abuſed by it (for any knowing man in this Age cannot) then it might prove ſo: but I ſhall prevent you in that, for it is likely enough this Anſwer, which diſcovereth the truth of things, may be as long-lived as your Romance, and then when poſterity ſhall know how little the Scots have done for our aſſiſtance at all, as I have made it appeare, and how much the Kingdome hath ſuffered and undergone by their comming in and doing nothing, that which poſterity will have cauſe to blame will be your notorious Falſehood, whereby to ſet forth your Scots you would impone upon and abuſe them with Tales and Lies invented for that purpoſe. One paſſage that he hath here he will not have paſſed by, but cals upon us to take notice of it, and it is worth the taking notice of, both in reſpect of the matter and manner of expreſſion; *Here let me tell you Gentlemen* (ſaith he) *this late Victory in Scotland hath given the common Enemie the greateſt Blowe, that hath received ſince the beginning of theſe late troubles*: Firſt, for the matter, can there be a more ridiculous thing than this Pedanticall brag (to ſet forth the ſervice of his Country-men) in the eyes of all underſtanding men, that ſuch an ignorant Pedant ſhould undertake to hold forth the overthrow of a few inſiderable forces under Montroſs, by no great number of Hors under David *Leſle*, as the greateſt blowe that the enemie hath received ſince the beginning of theſe troubles, whereas if he had received no greater blowes then this, at *Naſeby* and afterwards in the Weſt, truly he would have regarded this, and would have had cauſe ſo to do, no more then the paring of his nayles, or the loſing of one of his old ſhoes? then in the manner of expreſſion, he holds forth the Schoolmaſter ſo lively, as ſpeaking to his young Gentlemen, whom he taught (for being great Lords Sonnes, he might well uſe to call them Gentlemen, when he gave any grave documents unto them, and from that uſe and cuſtome come out with it now thus, *let me tell you Gentlemen*) that it is *Ipſiſſimè dictum*, he ſpeaks himſelf in it as fully as *Luther* uſed to ſay of *Henry* the 8th, it was *Henriciſſimè dictum*; you have him at the ſame in the beginning of this Pamphlet, when he takes upon him to ſchool the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, for their want of prudence, according to his manner with his young Gentlemen, *you have miſtaken the right way Sirs*; let any man read Mr. *Rhombus* in Sir *Philip Sydnies* Paſtoral acted before Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſee whether in many things he be not here acted to life by this bold Pedant, who undertakes to direct, correct and reprove all men of all Sorts, Ranks and Degrees, and that in all buſineſſes; *to tell him of noble blood is but a toy, all blood is alike*; for ſuch a one to talk of Nobility, or noble blood, and things of that nature, that he takes upon him to read Lectures of, is as they uſe to ſay truly of it, *Aſinus ad Lyram*.

He comes now to take notice of the *retaking of Briſtol*, not with any intention to acknowledge the remarkeable ſervices done by that Army in this yeare, a dumbe and deafe Spirit poſſeſſeth him on all that ſide; but it is evident it was done for no other cauſe, than that hereby he might againe take occaſion to vent the malice that rancles in his heart againſt a Gentleman who hath deſerved well both of this Kingdome and that of *Scotland*, and whom God hath ſo juſtified in this particular by a Demonſtration beyond exception, that every in-

different

different man cannot but in his Heart and Conſcience acquit him; they onely reſt unſatisfied who are ſorry to finde him Innocent, and hate and envie him for his abilities. This man tels us, *the world is aſtoniſhed to ſee him ſit in Parliament*; and why? *becauſe he lives Precario*: will he ſay that every one who hath had hard meaſure, and bin unjuſtly condemned, not in the arbitrary unlimited, and unknowne way to our young Souldiers who did this, of Councels of Warre, but in the ordinary legal way of Iuſtice, and afterwards bin pardoned and acquited from ſuch Sentences, doe live Precario, and are unfit, though men of never ſo great Parts, to be imploied? wil ſuch a thing turn this man & his world into ſtones to behold it? he forgets that this leſſon of his, which he would willingly in this particular have his ſimple people take out, or take upon truſt from him, doth little right to ſome of his good Friends who have had this misfortune, and yet are thought fit to be imployed in greateſt affaires, and very worthy of it: he might have looked upon that Noble *Lord* the *Lord Balmerino*, at that very time imploied here in greateſt affaires & truſt, as a Commiſſioner, and worthy of that imployment both for his abilities and integrity, though known to have bin wronged in as high a degree as this Gentleman, and yet by honeſt men accounted Innocent; and this might have made him aſhamed to vent ſuch a Poſition, when ſuch an Example ſtared him in the face while he was writing of it; but theſe pedants have no reflexe act, or ill memories: Let us ſee his argumentations, *the Gentleman did not continue ſtill a Member of the houſe, becauſe he did not claime his Priviledge, nor the Houſe vindicate the breach of their Priviledge: he is a man of rare parts, fit to be a Senator, a worſe would have bin choſen in his place; what of that? yet if he had bin hanged, inſtead of being commanded by the Houſe to come into his place, neither you nor your world would have bin aſtoniſhed at it*, it ſeems; excellently well diſputed Mr. *Rhombus*; if he upon ſuch an occaſion, waved his Priviledge of Parliament, and at his inſtance and deſire the Houſe was content to permitt him ſo to doe, this makes him not continue a Member of the Houſe; a man in a ſute at Law, confident of his right, is content to wave his Priviledge of Parliament, and goe to triall, and deſires no Priviledge from the Houſe, but that he may be left to the Law, is caſt in his ſute not withſtanding his confidence and good cauſe, by the ignorance or iniuſtice of the Iudges; doth this make him ceaſe to continue a Member of the Houſe, becauſe he clamed not his Priviledge in that caſe, nor the Houſe vindicated theirs? Tell theſe things to your School-boys, men of knowledg and underſtanding in Parliament priviledges and proceedings will laugh at them: it is true that confidence of his integrity and clearneſſe did make him deſire the Houſe to give him leave to clear himſelf of the Slanders which the like Malice to this had caſt upon him, & the Houſe did at his requeſt, as alſo the General for his clearing, not that either of them did at all accuſe him, or were unſatisfied with him: and this aſſurance of his own Innocency, for which he had ground enough as hath bin ſhewed, made him caſt himſelf into this misfortune, which this Pamphleter with others like him make uſe of without any end of their Malice, & burſt for Envie to ſee him by ſuch a Providence ſo cleared by the teſtimony both of the enemies Officers and of thoſe of our own Army, both being fully convinced of his clearneſſe heerin; and expreſſing as much; yea even ſuch of them who before this experience had bin much preiudiced againſt him, were abundantly ſatisfied when they had bin at the regaining of that Place themſelves, and obſerved the diffe-cut con-

conditions it was in, when first surrendered and now retaken. But he saith *the Sentence was judged to be just then, and hath not bin judged otherwise since, nor revoked, but he alone pardoned*: who did judge the Sentence just? they onely who gave it, and but some of them neither, though proving the Major part, and even those some condemning their owne Sentence themselves presently by explaining the Article *of holding out to the utmost extremity* so, as that any one was to be accounted to hold out to utmost extremity in case the Souldiers withdrew and refused to fight, which in his case was manifestly proved before them to be so; Here you may see, even those of the Councel of Warr that contrived his condemning (as hath bin made appeare) upon this Article onely, condemned their Sentence, presently after they had given it, of injustice: what greater acquittance of him from this Sentence, and evidence that the Parliament was no way perswaded of the Justice of it, could there be, than their calling of him to sit with them, and commanding him to his former service amongst them, which he onely out modesty before, because of this misfortune befallen him, not by their command, had forborne to doe? and this instantly upon the regaining of that place, which made his clearenes, and the unjust and hard measure he had suffered, apparent to all men, but, as I have said, those alone who would not see it, because out of Envie and Malice they would not have had it so; but the Parliament thereupon declared their full satisfaction actually in that matter: let him looke back againe to that instance I gave of that Noble Lord, his Country-man (whom I mention rather for his honour than with any other intention, and to shew how this pedantical fellow doth in these his silly argumentations not only wrong him, but many other men of worth, who have had by contrivement unjust sentences given against their lives) was that Sentence against him, or the like against many other innocent men; therefore just, because it was not revoked or judged unjust forensically, but he only pardoned? will this Schoolmaster teach that for a general and universal lesson, that all men in such cases are not fit to sit in Councell, if thus wronged, not be imployed afterwards in matters of State and greatest trust? now this wise Politick in his own opinion, may see whether his not politick, but splenetick Rules and Position will reach, and whom they do blemish and strike at, as well as this Gentlem n; whose innocency makes his stomack rise. But the Politick would be proceeds on very gravely, as if you heard him reading a Lecture to his Pupils, and falls upon *his Friends, as having done both the Gentlemen and the State wrong, in putting him upon imployments, wherein he was neither fitted by nature nor breeding, nor of himself inclined unto*: belike this man is better acquainted with his Nature and Inclination then his Friends; and for his Breeding, what would this bold controler, and censurer of all things, and all men of all professions (though his own breeding were only to be a Pedagogue) require? it may be he would not think him fit to be made a Souldier, except he had worn a Buffe-Coat in *Germany* or in *Holland*; if this be the scrutiny he would put his friends upon in respect of him, *to save their wisdom*, they can answer, that he hath bin there a Souldier, at the siege and taking of a Town upon Surrender, not only stronger then this, which at that time was known to be of no strength at all to resist two Armies besieging it, but a Town stronger then any was in *England*: but let him put the greatest part of those who condemned him, upon this Tryal for their experience, and breeding in matters of warre, and

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by what he will finde, he will cashcere them, as not fit to sit in a Councel of Warre, to judge of mens lives for matters of Warre, who never saw Warre, or a Councel of Warre abroad, or were at all bred up thereunto: what *Inclination* they had to Warre let him examine; but that they had an inclination and purpose to condemn this Gentleman, however he made it appear he had behaved himself, and what ill condition the place was in, and how untenable, is clear enough; and if that Knight be asked, who told him what they had resolved before-hand amongst themselves, he can tell they meant not to consult their experience, had they had any, about this matter: well upon this occasion, he lessons all men, and gives rules to them, how they must behave themselves, *they must not take upon them such imployments, whereunto nature and their inclinations hath not fitted them*: I would aske this pedant, whether any body but himself will think him by nature or breeding (for his inclination he makes it manifest enough, and such bold forwardnesse is ever to be found in all pedantical men) fitted to controll Parliament, direct Councellers of State in State affaires, reprove and befoole Commissioners of greatest quality, and imployed in matters of greatest trust and concernment from one Kingdom to another, and teach them what they should do, as if he were teaching his boyes, giving his judgement of their carriage when they did well, when they did indiscreetly, wanting prudence and courage; so in matters of Warre giving his judgement, when businesses were well managed, and when otherwayes, as is to be seen throughout this foolish factious Discourse of his, which he was set about, or set himself about to serve other men in their designes? surely you must needs take him to be one of those *noble Genies* he talkes of, who he saith, are *fitted for all imployments*, otherwise he will fall under his own reproof here; for he makes himself a Judge and a controller, and director in all, as if all knowledge were within the compas of his round Cap, when he walks up and down in the midst of his Boyes; who so bold as blind *Bayard*.

After these Admonitions given to all men, he remembers himself, that the *Scots* his Countrymen may happily hereby come under his Ferula, and be lashed together with other men; whereupon he takes occasion to set forth and make ostentation of his impartiality; that you may believe his juttnesse, *he will respect neither the one nor the other*, he saith, *to favour this, or excuse that, if they do offend, whether he be* Engl sh *or* Scor, *it is all one to him, he will make no difference*, which is a lie so grosse and putid, that the whole Discourse throughout makes it apparent, he was set on work, and eagerly carried on to that work he was set about, by his own spleen and falsehood fitting him hereunto, to no other end but to cry up the *Scots* contrary to all truth, and for the setting forth of their merit to disgrace the *English*, and the best deserving men amongst them with as much falsehood: indeed he there in the 119. and 120. pages, tells a tale or story no way tending to the credit of his Nation, as I have formerly said, it may be he exceeded his Commission in this particular, to make ostentation of impartiality, and to gain thereby the more credit in other things wherein that he might advance the *Scots*, he disgraceth, and so shamefully beliefth the *English*, and that in many parts of this most Manifest Forgery of his, that I and every man that reads it, may much more truly call it so, than he shamefully put the name of Manifest Truth upon it. I repeat often the same things, for he often puts on the same Vizards and Disguises to deceive, which I would as often pull off.

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He cloſeth up this Pamphlet of his (*till*, as he ſaith in the end of it, *he may have another occaſion*, that is to exerciſe his invention again in ſlandring honeſt men, and lying more amply and fully) with a Diſcourſe of Two particulars; the firſt very clearly ſheweth of what *ſpirit* the man is; the ſecond, what his *deſign* was in ſpreading abroad this ſeditious Pamphlet, and other papers of the ſame kind, which was his practiſe untill the incendary was ſought after for it, and made to betake himſelf to his heeles: *theſe laſt dayes*, he ſaith, *he met with I printed paper* (that is his uſuall phraſe, or *it fell into his hands*, though he ſought after it, as a Fox after his prey) *which was the later part of a Letter ſent from Briſtol*: this he would make men believe was *concealed from the world*; and that *he, out of his zeal to Church and State* (and then comes in *the ſolemn Covenant*, which binds him ſo to doe) *will give it to the view of the world*: that it was kept from them (if there was any ſuch thing, and not invented by him, to make men the rather think and ſuſpect there was ſomething in it) I know no reaſon at all; for the piece hath nothing in it but what exhorts to brotherly love and charity, though there be difference in judgement between men in things of inferior allay, and ſmaller conſequence than to hinder them from keeping the unity of ſpirit in the band of love and peace; and this exhortation he cannot induce; therefore let me return upon himſelf, where it will be found moſt true, that groſſe lye which he ends this paſſage withall, that *in theſe few lines the malitious plot of factious* Independents *is more diſcovered againſt Church and State, than by whatſoever hath been ſaid or written by them to this day*; *and ſo* ſaith he, *take up the paſſive obedience of theſe men*: to theſe laſt words, and the ignorant or wilful folly of them out of meer malice, I have already ſaid enough to diſcover the ſame: But to his active malice in the former let me ſay, that in his diſcourſe upon this piece of a Letter, though it be hard for him to exceed himſelf in what he hath already done of this kind, yet he hath here diſcovered ſuch an invenomed, imbittered ſpirit, void of all charity, and that unto ſuch a heighth as is hardly to be paralleled; for not onely to harbour malice and uncharitableneſs in the heart, and vent it, though full of lies, upon all occaſions, but beſides to have the heart ſo deeply poyſoned and corrupted, that the deſires of love and peace, and exhortations to unity cannot be indured, this is a ſuperlative wickedneſs, and like a ſtomack overcharged with choler, and full of all ill humours, which turns all wholſome food into the increaſe of that ill humour that is predominant in it; but what will not envy produce where it is entertained and bears ſway? that this may the more manifeſtly appear, though he hath ſet the ſame down in his Pamphlet, yet I will here inſert that part of the Letter, which his corrupted ſtomack ſo much riſeth againſt, and then conſider his moſt fooliſh, and moſt uncharitable exceptions againſt it. The Letter was *Cromwels*, whoſe very Name is ſufficient, as hath appeared, to turn the mans ſtomack, by ſtirring the ſpleen and choler lodged therein, and theſe are the words:

" Presbyterians, Independents, *all have here the ſame ſpirit of*
" *faith and prayer, the ſame preſence and anſwers, they agree here,*
" *know no names of difference; pity it is it ſhould be otherwiſe*
" *any where; all that believe have the reall unity, which is moſt*
" *glorious, becauſe inward and ſpirituall, in the body and to the head;*
" *for being united in formes, commonly called uniformity, every*

" Christian will, for peace sake, study and doe as far as Conscience "will permit; and from brethren, in things of the mind, we look for "no compulsion, but that of light and reason: in other things God "hath put the sword into the Parliaments hand, for the terror of "evill doers, and the praise of them that doe well; if any plead exemp- "tion from it, he knoweth not the Gospel; if any would wring it out "of your hands, or steal it from you, under what pretence soever, "I hope they shall doe it without effect: that God will maintain it "in your hands, and direct you in the use of it, is the prayer, &c.

What can a man find in all this, but that his spirit will fully close withall, if his heart have truly imbraced the reiterated Commands of our blessed Saviour in his dying words, as I may say, and farewell Sermon, *John* 14, &c. or hath his spirit truly seasoned and sanctified by imbracing, not in profession onely, but in power, the Doctrine of the Apostles throughout the Gospel, and received into his heart that exhortation of the Apostle, *Phillip* 3. 1, 2, 3. *verses*, pressed by the Apostle with Arguments and Motives so powerfull and effectuall? onely such men as this, who are carried with a Pharisaicall Zeal to prefer their own Traditions before the Commandments of God, and place Religion in the setting up and maintaining the Idol of their own Inventions (for which it is usuall for men to have a fiery preposterous Zeal) onely such, I say, could put an ill interpretation upon so christian an exhortation and desire, that all Christians, as they are one body, under one head, and enlivened by one and the same Spirit, might live and walk together in unfained love, without division in affections, though in some outward things of government in the Churches they differ in opinion; and that the names set up by Satans policy to breed and continue contentions between brethren, might not prevail to obtain his end therein; the exhortation and desire are both pious. The man enters upon his silly Observations (for such I may well term them) with this in the first place, *That the words are set down in such a way, that what they mean, he that reads them can hardly reach unto, and that this seems to be done of purpose*: The words are so plain, and the meaning so clear to him that will understand, that it may much rather be thought, this man is desirous to cast fogs and mists upon them, that *the simpler sort*, whom he speakes of afterwards, might be the better prepared to entertain his false glosses upon them to their deluding. That which he desires in this piece of his Letter is (as I have said) that difference of judgement in things outward and of smaller consequence, and distinguishing names, cast upon men to breed and hold up divisions, might not cause difference in affection amongst brethren: To perswade to this, he first shews it feiseable by their practises and example where he is; and then urgeth that strong and undeniable reason for it, the real unity that there is between those who are believers and true Christians, being members of one body, united to one head, the Lord Christ, and this union being inward and spirituall is so glorious as not to have breaches made in it: for outward formes, and uniformity in them, for peace sake Christians will study to conform unto, so far as with a good conscience preserved they may; but untill their judgement and reasons have light sufficient to convince them of the lawfulnesse of things, it is expected (and well may be) from

brethren

brethren, though in Authority, not to compel thereunto a doubting unsatisfied conscience; the commands and lawes of men bind the outward man and reach to his conversation, but the mind and conscience must be left to God to work upon, *Cogi non potest fides*; what is not done of faith is sin, and to compell to sin is not the Magistrates part or duty: If therefore the things be of such a nature, as that they be grosse scandalous sinnes, and dangerous errors in respect of infection of others, and seducement; the Magistrate may and ought in such cases to proceed in the Negative, to forbid the outward actings and practise of such things, being in their natures destructive to the foundations of Christian Religion, and not suffer and permit men to hold them forth in their conversations amongst others, to offend and leaven them to their ruine; no more than he ought to suffer a man to run up and down, with a Plague sore running upon him, to destroy others: But in the Affirmative to force men outwardly to act that, and not forbear alone, but practise what is contrary to their consciences, and the light which as yet they have attained to, this is not to be done by a Christian Magistrate to any, much lesse to brethren; herein he, as well as others, if he have faith, must have it to himself before God, and not compell other men to sin, by forcing them to act and to doe things contrary unto, or with a doubting conscience, untill they shall be better informed; and if not by example in things of indifferency and inferior consideration, how much lesse, in matters meerly of outward form, by compulsion and force is this to be done? and this is that which is meant by these words, *things of the mind*, as is cleared by the reference of them to the conviction of enlightned reason, and the opposition of them to outward and other things: In the last place he acknowledgeth the authority of the Magistrate, with this brand upon those who would exempt themselves from it, that they knew not the doctrine of the Gospel, and this to muzzle the foul mouths of those, who cast upon them the names of *Anabaptists*; and they that shall indeavour, either by *pretences* of Religion, or whatever else, " *to steal the sword out of the Parliaments hands, or by force to* " *wrest it from them* (whom he acknowledgeth hereby to be the lawfull Authority " over them and others) *he hopes their indeavours shall be without effect*: Oh well spoken, with all my soul, I wish as we'l practised! Here is the sum and substance of all contained in this piece of the Letter, which the man snarles so much at; and what could be more christianly desired, or more clearly and plainly delivered? what more consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles, witnesse *Romans* 13. and many other Scriptures? and who, but he that will muzzle himself up still in his own malice, could find any intricacy and perplexity in the expressions thereof.

To his 14 *Observations* upon this piece of the Letter, if I should answer no more but these two words, *false and foolish*, it were sufficient to any unprejudiced understanding man; but in respect of his *simpler sort*, and *his well meaning people* whom he labours to abuse, I shall trouble my self farther with them. *His first Observation* is this, *If there be no difference between* Presbyterians *and* Independents *where the Writer of the Letter is, how comes this man to discern them one from another*, then comes in scornfully with a *may be he can dive further into things, and understands more than others*: The truth is, he understands little more than a fool that understands not the folly of this Observation, which onely malice and falsehood could be capable to bring forth from a man of any understanding: It is said in the Letter, " Presbyterians, Independents, *all here have the same spirit of faith*

and prayer, the same presence and answers, they agree here without taking notice, or so knowing names of difference, as to be hindred thereby from such agreement: Every man must needs acknowledge this to be his sense, neither can malice wrest out another; but with greatest folly as this man here; for cannot there be a difference in opinion between men in things of small consideration, in respect of these great duties of piety and spiritual graces, which difference may be discerned, but yet have so little operation in the minds of pious men, as not to make the least breach in affection between them, nor give the least interruption to their joyning and sweetly closing together in all the duties of piety, graces of the Spirit, and ordinances of the Gospel, with one heart, being of one mind, and one spirit in all these things? what greater folly than to make a question of this, which experience hath so manifestly evinced to be a truth, and that to the great commendation of the piety and charity of such godly men, that they will not for such differences in opinion be hindered from maintaining the unity of the Spirit in the band of love and peace? heretofore the Devill (as he will never be without them) had two other distinguishing names, *Conformist*, and *Non Conformist*, when Surplice and other Ceremonies were injoyned by the Prelates, wherein all men had not attained to the same measure of light, but were of different judgements, so that their difference of judgement and practise in these things of smaller consideration, and themselves by these names could be discerned one from another very easily, without a divining spirit; yet it might be truly said of many reverend and godly men amongst them in those times, both Ministers and Christian brethren, that notwithstanding such a difference, they prayed together, fasted together, had the same gracious presence of God with them in their praying, and fasting, and answers to their prayers offered up by the same spirit; and took so little notice of these differences of opinion in things of this inferior nature, and of those distinguishing names arising from thence; as that notwithstanding they were of one heart and one soul, walking together in love as brethren, which is the thing here affirmed in the Letter of those who were where the Writer was. This I my self know to be a truth, and can testifie the same, and could name many of the men, having lived long with them, and seen and known their conversations. I have been willing to insist the longer upon this, not onely to shew how ridiculous his Observation is upon these words of unity in the Spirit of Faith and Prayer, and not suffering names, and differing in opinion in some things to breed difference in affection between those who have the same Faith, the same Spirit, the same Lord and head, and the same God, but most of all; because as he that writes it, so I with my soul desire that this unity of the Spirit in the band of peace and brotherly love might be more observed and practised in all places, notwithstanding these names, and the things for which they have been cast upon men: but I see now, as I did also observe in those times, many hot headed men carried on with a fiery zeal, which comes not from the Altar, so caught by Satan in this Mouse-trap of names, which he hath set up for that purpose, that they cannot indure to hear of a christian exhortation hereunto, or desire thereof, without putting their own unchristian interpretations and wrestings upon the same, as this man here, and so divers others of his Spirit.

His 2d *Observation* is no other than a false affirmation; let him bring one instance to prove it if he can, and he shall not be thought altogether so false in his affirmations as he will needs publish himself in print to be; let him name the man whom he will have to be an *Independent, that hath with fiercenesse opposed, or*

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cannot brook, or by cunning ſought to ſupplant and caſt out of imployment any Presbyterian as ſuch, if for other deſignes of theirs prejudicial to the publick, and the right and intereſt of this Kingdome they have oppoſed them, and that conſtantly and unmovably, it is their faithfulneſſe, for which they deſerve to be commended: it is hard to undertake for all whom he may caſt this name upon, but it is clear enough to them, who read this railing Pamphlet of his, whom he aimes at, thoſe who oppoſe his Idol and the ſetting of it up in this Kingdome, though many of them be *Presbyterians* in judgement, in reſpect of that which in the iſſue will onely fall out to be the difference, whether Coercive power be to be exerciſed by *Presbyteries* united or Conſultative alone, as before I have expreſſed.

The 3d is of the ſame nature, as falſe, whether we reſpect the carriage of *Presbyterian* or *Independents*, eſpecially thoſe in the Aſſembly, whom he, as before and here, you may ſee principally ſhoots his bolt at (give me leave to ſay it often, ſince he ſo often will deſerve it) what *meekneſſe of mind and patience the* Presbyterians *have uſed towards the* Independents in the Aſſembly, I have ſhewed before, and thoſe that know and did obſerve the carriages of both in their debates there, and in their reaſons and anſwers given in in writing one to another, can teſtifie, he doth no more here than often in other places, *fortiter calumniari & impudenter*: for the *extravagances the* Presbyterians *would bring them from, and the truth of God* (as he will have it) *which they would have them ſubmit unto*, what is this but fooliſhly to beg the queſtion in hand? that he would have them no longer born withall, and indured, but fire come preſently from heaven and deliver him and his from them, that is conſonant to all the reſt which comes from his ſpirit; I would he knew of what ſpirit he is therein, that he might repent for it.

His 4th *Obſervation* hath ſuch a preheminence in falſhood that all experience can manifeſt the ſame to be falſe, whether you look into City, Town, or Country; for thoſe he will call *Independents*, whether at home, or abroad, in old *England* or in New, they are ſo far from *branding a* Presbyterian, *becauſe ſuch, with the name of prophaneneſſe*, or a thought thereof, or *thinking them unworthy of holy ſociety* with them, that they doe not, nor will not, for that difference in judgement onely, knowing them otherwiſe to be truly godly, refuſe to admit them into their neareſt and deareſt Societies, their Church fellowſhips, neither doe they think they ought; and this common experience of their practiſe herein will teſtifie againſt this impudent falſhood of his charged upon them.

In the 5th *Obſervation* he makes a *riddle*, *and bids him to ſolve it who will*; it is as eaſily ſolved, as fooliſhly made and called a riddle; his riddle is this, Presbyterians *and* Independents *are ſaid to have an inward unity, whence is it then, that they agree not in things of the mind which are eſteemed inward? the conſcience is a part of the mind, yet it ſuffers not* Independents *to uniform with* Presbyterians: Amongſt all the riddles that in the riddle book are taught children for ſport, I think there is not to be found ſo childiſh a one as this: can there be no inward and reall unity, where, in any thing whatever, there is any difference? for in the diſtinction that he himſelf makes of *things of the mind*, he ſaith, they *are things that remain within the mind and goe no further, or things that proceed and come from the mind and are outward*, and this latter he extends afterward to all things; *for the firſt, thoſe that remain in the mind, and come not out, nor goe further, there can be no compulſion of them* he ſaith; and ſo I ſay, if they never come forth of the mind nor

be discovered, in them there can be neither agreement nor disagreement, for who can know what they are? therefore the agreement that is between men must be *in things that come out from the mind*, and so are discovered, not that abide and remain in the mind and cannot be known, and these, in his acception of these words [*things of the mind*] are all things that concern Church or State, all that are proper to men above meerly naturall and sensible creatures, as in his eighth Observation he hath it: then mark, I will not say what a *riddle* he makes of this, but what a foolish position and false he layeth down, which no man of understanding would ever have done, if his inconsidering Zeal had not transported him to say he neither knew, or cared what, that is, if there be a difference between men in any one thing, so that they doe not uniform in all things, there can be no inward unity between them, and it is *a riddle to say there is*: Will not any, who is acquainted with Scripture, or I may say, that is above his *meerly naturall and sensible creatures*, and hath understanding to observe what hath, and doth daily passe between men in the world, see the falshood and willful folly herein expressed? *Paul* and *Barnabas* had an inward unity, the same Spirit of faith and prayer, as here is said, and were united inwardly and spiritually by the same Spirit to one Head, and one to another, as members of the same mysticall body, yet they did not agree in all things of the mind, for one was of the mind that *John Mark* should not goe to visit that work which he had before deserted, and the other was of opinion that it was fit to take him along with them notwithstanding, and this difference continued between them, and was sufficiently discernable, and yet will he say it is a riddle to affirm that there was an inward union between them and spiritual unity at that time? So *Paul* and *Peter* differed, when *Paul* reproves him in things concerning Religion: if he shall answer, these were particular actions and passages falling out in their conversations, not different opinions that they held and professed in matters of Religion, yet they will fall under his acceptation and interpretation of the words, and extending of them to all things in his eighth Observation, and then they make for him this absurd conclusion, that between these Apostles it were a riddle to say there was any inward spirituall unity. But in those times there were many thousands of the believing *Jewes*, who were zealous of the Ceremonies of the Law, as the Elders at *Jerusalem* told *Paul*, not having yet light enough to convince them, That the Substance being come, these Ceremonies were to cease; the believing *Gentiles*, having more light in that particular, were of another mind and judgement according to the truth; and this difference in matters of Religion, and of far greater consideration and consequence than what I have shewed to be between *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, was held up and maintained with too much strife and contention between them; conscience not permitting the *Jewes* to uniform with the *Gentiles*, as is clear by the directions given therein by the Apostles, and by that 14th Chapter to the *Romans*; notwithstanding all this, shall any man be said to speak riddles, that affirmes there was a reall inward spirituall union between these believing *Jewes* and Christian *Gentiles*, who had imbraced the Gospel? And that *holding the head they were*, as the Apostle saith, *Col.* 2 19. *knit together by joynts and bands* which are inward and spirituall, and did increase and grow up together according to the measure of every part with the Increases of God: while we live here in this life we are imperfect, and know but in part, and therefore being of different stature in knowledge, there

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is and will be difference of opinion in some things of Religion amongst Christians, who notwithstanding by an inward and spirituall union, as the Apostle hath it, *Ephes.* 4. 13, 15, 16. *Grow up in him who is the head, even Christ, according to the measure of every part, as many members, and of severall statures, united in one body, and increasing, and edifying one another in love.* I wish these Zealots for tithing of Mint, Anise and Cumin were better acquainted with these great things of the Gospel, which they neglect for such things as are not to be regarded so much, as this tithing in those times, being a thing commanded; they would not then call what in this Letter is affirmed, and, suitably to that example, desired to be practised in other places, a riddle, which their fiery fleshly Zeal and ignorance makes them doe: And, but that I am willing to insist upon this point, desiring it may be better known, and better practised amongst Christians, occasion being ministred unto me by this ignorant or malicious Observation, I have indeed troubled my self and the Reader too much in discovering the sillinesse and vanity of it.

His 6th *Observation:* I have answered in shewing what the Writer meant by *Compulsion in things of the mind*, as may be well enough understood by such as have not a will to cavill; for the thing in question is uniformity in formes with *Presbyterians*, that which he desires and expects from brethren, being Magistrates, is, that men be not compelled thereunto untill they have light sufficient to convince their reasons of the lawfulnesse thereof; therefore to wrest this to such a sence that *men may have liberty to say, write, and doe whatsoever is in their minds*, is either great ignorance, or wilfull out of malice; for by compulsion to keep men from saying, writing, and doing whatever comes into their minds, is to put compulsion upon their outward actions in restraining them, which he grants the Magistrate hath power in; but to compell mens minds to think this or that is lawfull, and therefore to force them to act accordingly, and practise it for uniformities sake, before they shall have light sufficient to convince their reason of the lawfulnesse of it, which is not in the power of man to give; this is a metropolitan and prelatical practise, as we know in the compelling of Subscription, and this he expects Christian Magistrates will not doe, and well he may expect it, if they will keep themselves to the rules of the Apostles doctrine: there is great difference between restraining men from venting, publishing, and acting their errors when they are grosse, scandalous, and destructive to others, and compelling and forcing men for to act and practise that, which they in their consciences judge to be unlawfull, for conformity sake: the one the Magistrate may and ought to doe, but not the other; he may, and ought to restrain sin; but not to force men to sin against conscience, by practising and acting what they think to be unlawfull, untill they have light to convince them of the lawfulnesse of such things, as they are required to conform unto: therefore this conclusion of his is a meer cavill arising from an ignorant, or wilfull mistake and wresting of the words.

In his 7th *Observation* he cavilleth at the words *Light and Reason*, and saith, that *all the phanatical phrenzies, that have been broached, doe pretend thereunto, no men pleading so much for reason as the* Socinians, *and* Arminians, *except our* Independents. Because all heresies and phanatical men have made use of the Scriptures, and pretended their heresies and phansies to be warranted thereby, is this a

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good reaſon to object againſt the right uſe of the Scriptures, or againſt thoſe who mention the Scriptures? So if ſome falſely pretend to light, and attribute too much to Reaſon, ſhall it be a fault in others to deſire to be guided by Reaſon inlightned out of the Scriptures, and not compelled to act contrary to the ſame? For his preferring his *Independents* (for ſo he calls them, and well may he, being ſuch onely of his own making) *before the Socinians and Arminians, in pleading for reaſon*, it is well known, that no men keep themſelves more cloſely and exactly to the Word, without admitting of any humane policies, or humane reaſon, in the very matters of Church government, than theſe men doe whom he would make *Independents*, acknowledging the diſcipline and government of Churches to be inſtituted by Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and nothing that is to be done therein, in the leaſt circumſtance, to be left to the reaſon and policy of men, but ordered by the Word, either in the expreſſe precepts thereof, or by the generall rules of order, decency, and edification, ſet down therein; and I am ſure this Zealot for his Kirk government cannot ſay ſo much for That, and prove it, if their practiſe be examined, and proof out of the Scriptures be brought for it; and that in reſpect of divers particulars. *How their Rabbis in the ſynod have proved their light to be clear, and their reaſons to be true, it is well known*, he ſaith: I agree with him, it is ſo well known by their reaſons and anſwers given in in writing, that by whom thoſe ſhall be ſeen either now or hereafter, it will appear how falſe that is which he affirmes of *their being convinced by the Word of God, or their light proved thereby to be darkneſſe, and their reaſon erroneous*; and therefore untill that could be done, which will be found to be far from being done at that time, they had reaſon to continue in that judgement which they had warrant for out of the Word of God: for *the practiſe of the reformed Churches*, that is no rule, farther than their practiſe is agreeable to the Word of God, which is the onely rule; and as they have reformed many things, ſo there may be the ſame need yet to reform in ſome other things, wherein they may be wanting, or have been miſtaken: for the ſtate of the beſt and moſt reformed here in this life is a ſtate ſhort of perfection.

In his 8th *Obſervation* he comes in with, *again he ſaith*, "*We look for no compulſion*; the Writer ſaith no ſuch thing again, but this man will needs cavill again, and to that end bring it in again; well let us ſee what he will be at now again; though I have anſwered this, and many of the reſt, by ſhewing the true meaning of the Writer in thoſe words ["*Compulſion for things of the mind*] *then I pray thee*, ſaith he, *is not the common Law of* England *a thing of the mind*; whom ſpeaks he to, is he now turned to ſome Petty-fogger of the Law? well, what then? *why this man denieth the Parliament to have any thing to doe with it, nor with the Church, nor with the State, ſeeing they have nothing to doe with things of the mind*: Well argued and concluded once again Mr. *Rhombus*; or wittingly and wilfully contrary to clear light: for in this ſenſe, wherein the man will take things of the mind, that is, which come forth from the mind, *as all actions proper to men doe*, as he himſelf concludes in this 8th Obſervation; as he ſaith, the Common Law of *England is* a thing of the mind, ſo he may as well (as himſelf confeſſeth) ſay the ſame of any thing whatſoever done by a man indued with reaſon, and not by a beaſt or unreaſonable creature: How can he then with any conſcience or care of ſpeaking truth,

truth, make this the ſenſe of the Writer, when in the very next words which he himſelfe repeats, he tells us what the Writer ſaith concerning *other things*, that they are ſubjected to the ſword of the Parliament. To uſe his owne manner of ſpeech, wherewith I am now ſo well acquainted, I pray thee then tell me what thoſe other things are, which in the Writers ſenſe are ſubjected to the Parliaments authority, ſince all things done by men, whatever they be, are things of the minde: was he ſo brutiſh, or will you be ſo, to intend by thoſe *other things* diſtinguiſhed from things of the mind in his Letter, the actions done by beaſts? You would make this his abſurdity, but it is no other than your owne moſt abſurd and ridiculous cavilling againſt that, which as I have ſhewed before, hath a plaine and cleare ſenſe, which every unde. ſtanding man that is ingenuous, will acknowledge, yea, though an adverſary.

His 9th. *Obſervation* is of the ſame kinde; but he contradicts himſelfe by reſtraining the meaning of the words, now to *the denying of the Parliament to have to doe with holy things*, whereas before he would underſtand them of the Common Law of *England*, and of all things: but he knows not what to doe with thoſe other things, which the Writer acknowledgeth "*the Parliament to have the Sword* "*put into their hands to order and compell in, for the terrour of thoſe that do ill, and the* "*praiſe of thoſe that do well*, as his words are; and therefore here he is conſtrained to interpret *things of the minde* to be *holy things*, which the Parliament is not to meddle with; then in this, and his two following Obſervations, he runnes out from this fooliſh interpretation to draw concluſions, and make conſequences anſwerable thereunto, whereas he neither doth, nor can prove any ſuch thing to be meant by the Writer, or intended in thoſe words, therefore both concluſions and conſequences are nothing elſe but fooleries and falſhoods, having no other foundation but his owne malicious fancy, that will have it ſo, to give him a preſence at leaſt to raile againſt the Writer, whoſe ſenſe and meaning in the words I have ſufficiently expreſſed before to any who will underſtand truly; but bray a Fool in a Morrar & he will ſtill be the ſame; for what folly & malice doth he ſhew in all this? that firſt he will have the words to be underſtood *of all things that are proper to a reaſonable creature*, then he will reſtrain them to *holy things*; & whereas the writer ſpeaks of *other things* ſeparated and excepted from what he intends by things of the mind, theſe he will have to be *no things*: ſo malice & envy makes him turne this way and that way, & every way to make ſomething out of nothing rather than not to find a fault, for there can be nothing found in thoſe words, or that whole piece, that doth not well ſtand with the acknowledgement of the Magiſtrates power in things civill, and alſo in things of Religion ſo far forth, as to be *Cuſtos utriuſque tabulæ*: notwithſtanding which acknowledgement, there may well be an expectation that a Chriſtian Magiſtrate will not force and compell any man to act contrary to his minde and conſcience, till light received ſufficient to convince him, that what is required of him is lawfull: This being the duty of every Chriſtian Magiſtrate that will walk charitably, and the true ſenſe of the Writers words; I ſhall not need therefore to trouble my ſelfe any farther with his conſequences drawn from his owne evill imaginations alone, in this 9th. Obſervation, or the 10th, and 11th. being nothing elſe but Caſtles built in the Aire, without any foundation. I will onely obſerve his uſuall cuſtome in ſpeaking of the Covenant, and the Parliaments Declarations at their firſt taking up of Armes, which is ſtill to leave out thoſe words which purpoſely were put in to explaine their meaning, and this he

doth either out of ignorance (to judge the best of it) or purposely to serve for his designe, in mentioning the Covenant, where he still presseth, That by this Oath we are bound to reforme the Church according to the Word of God, &c. he will still omit these words [*according to our places and callings*] which is a Limitation that was purposely put in, that it might not be thought we bound our selves to fight at all for Reformation of Church Government, much lesse according to *the example of the Church of Scotland*, which he would make men believe we bound our selves unto by this Oath, and are fighting for that cause, though no such thing was ever meant, but purposely provided against by this Caution: then when he mentioneth the *maintaining of the Doctrine, Discipline, and Government of the Church of* Scotland *in the Covenant*, he sets it downe absolutely, omitting this which was purposely also put into that clause [*against Popery*] not binding our selves any farther; and in the *Declaration of both Houses before their taking up of Arms*, he leaves out what the Houses onely intended, and particularly expressed, "*the defence of the true Protestant Religion, established by Law in* England *against Popery*; and therefore for him to say *it is a lie to affirme the Parliment did not make Religion* in general *its quarrell* (especially understanding it to be the Reformation of Church Government, and introducing his Church Government, and setting of that up in the place of Prelates here in *England*, which is that he all along takes for Reformation of Religion in this Pamphlet of his) is so impudent, grosse, known a lie, that at the first taking up of Armes, it was not so much as thought of; But they declared, "*They would maintaine the true Protestant Religion established by Lawes in this Kingdome against Popery, if need should be, and would defend the Laws of the Kingdome in preservation thereof, by Armes*, as they might justly; but against the Lawes then in force, to take up Arms for the setting up of his Church Government, his Idol, and casting out of Bishops, by the Sword, for that end; I dare say it was so far from the thoughts of the two Houses of Parliament, who were constrained to take up armes for their own defence onely, against force prepared to ruine them that if any such thing had been then proposed, they would much sooner have taken up Arms against it, and by the Lawes of the Kingdome, as then they stood, might much more lawfully have done it, if by force such a thing had been endeavoured to be obtruded upon the Kingdome. These omissions are usuall with him, for in speaking of these things they serve not for his turn' therefore he hath a Figure called Preterition alwaies for them also.

The 12. *Observation* is a question made to no purpose that I know, *Whether the Uniformity between Presbyterian and Independents be not externall, the inward being already by this mans words*, as he saith; *if it be externall, then the Parliament hath power over it*, And who denied the Parliaments having power over it? I think the Writer, and every wise and good man, did and doth desire that the Parliament would use their power, there being an inward union in the maine things of true Religion between them, to forbid and prevent strife, contentions, and divisions among them, to the disturbance of the peace both of Churches and the State, in respect of an externall uniformity onely in things of forme, which none are such eager Ricklers in, and set on foot so much as this hot-headed Presbyterian, and those of his spirit; and this were a right use of their power in such things of outward formes, not to suffer contentions to arise about them, to the prejudice of that inward unity and power of godlinesse, which true Christians should grow up in, and hereunto tendeth the Writers desire in what he said; but how foolishly and

falſely doth the man gather and aſſume this, when he concludes *what is ſought for to be externall, becauſe the inward was already, by the Writers words?* when the Writer only ſheweth it was ſo amongſt them where he was, but that it was not ſo elſewhere, which is his griefe, ſaying *"it was pity it ſhould be otherwiſe any where;* but for this man to be labouring to make ſomething out of nothing, if he could, to ſerve his turne, is uſuall with him, though he make himſelfe ridiculous thereby.

In his 13. *Obſervation*, he ſaith, *It ſeems in this Army, that the externall uniformity is alſo, by this mans ſaying, between Presbyterian and Independent:* Marke how he tumbles up and downe from one ſide to another to cavill; in that which went but next before he had ſaid, *the Externall was ſought for betweene them, the Inward being already by this mans words*, now in this Obſervation of his, *the Externall muſt be by this mans words*, if the Externall be already by this mans words, how can it be ſought for? Will that be raiſed alſo from the ſame words? that it is, and yet it is to ſeek; here indeed take your Riddle; are not theſe grave and weighty Obſervations much worth obſerving? but he brought this in by hook and crook, as we ſay, to have a ſlerke at *ſome Independent Officers* for *preaching*, as he calls it, *wherein to no Presbyterian will give his conſent, much leſſe practice it, and therefore there can be no uniformity, at leaſt without difference:* There can be no Uniformity, if there be a Difference in any thing; as before there could be no Union, if in any one thing proper to a Man there were a difference; If one Man love Cheeſe, and another will not eate it, there can be no Unity nor Uniformity between theſe Men: I ſhould be unwilling to ſend my Child to ſuch a Schoolmaſter: but to his inſtance, ſuppoſe the Army or any part of it were neceſſitated to be in ſuch places upon the Lords day, where they could not enjoy the preaching of the Word for their comfort and edification, if upon ſuch an occaſion ſome gifted man amongſt them (as there were many ſuch, both Scholars from the Univerſities and others) ſhould handle a piece of Scripture for their mutuall edifications, and the better helping of themſelves to imploy the Lords day in holy exerciſes, according to the Commandement; would any ſober, modeſt, pious Presbyterian be offended herein? I believe no ſuch thing, but rather that they would willingly joyne therein, both to heare what ſhould be profitably delivered by others, and, being gifted, and thereby fitted thereunto, take their turnes to doe the like upon like occaſion themſelves: Hath this mans malice ſo far tranſported him, that he will be transformed thereby into a Popiſh or Prelaticall garbe, to ſuffer none to handle the Word for exhortation, and edification one of another, except he be firſt made by them a Deacon, or have added thereunto afterwards the indeleble character of a Prieſt at large, a Miniſter without a charge, a Paſtor without a Flock, and an unfixed wandring Starre, as the Prelates to uphold and maintaine their uſurped power over the Miniſters, uſe to doe? though they ſeem to be at a great diſtance and deadly feud, yet examine things fully, and in the point of uſurpation of power, under pretence of Order, and preventing Confuſion and Anarchy, which is that they uſe to pretend and hold forth, you ſhall finde Prelats and their claſſicall Presbyteries differ little or nothing: That Tyranny, which is uſed over Churches and the Members thereof by the one in a Dioceſſe, is exerciſed in a Circuit containing many particular Churches by the other, the difference being nothing at all in the things done, but in the perſons by whom they are done, here by One, there by a Few, the one, or few having neither of them any warrant from the Word of God, for the power they uſurp and exerciſe; this he hath led me into by being ſo peremptory

xemptory in undertaking that *no Presbyterian will conſent unto, much leſſe practice the exerciſe of the gifts of Prophecy*, for mutuall edification *by a Man* being *out of Office*, which either for probation, or mutuall edification, may be done upon occaſion, and I dare ſay, many Godly men of Presbyterian judgement, will aſſent thereunto; let this generall undertaker undertake what he pleaſeth, and beſt ſerveth his preſent turne, what his Scotch Claſſicall meetings, which they call their Presbyterian Churches, will doe, I know not. Yet by this I have ſpoken, I intend not to juſtifie all that hath been done of this kinde in theſe times; for it may be upon pretence, and under the name of a time of Liberty to all men, as many other things have been done, which no good man or wiſe will juſtifie; ſo in this particular, many ignorant and yet conceited men of their owne abilities, it may very well be, have too often taken upon them to handle the Word of God unskilfully, and thereby taken the Name of God in vaine, preſuming above that which was meet for men of their gifts and abilities; and this the weakeſt men are apteſt to run into, but the abuſe (which often falls out of the beſt things) muſt not take away and condemne the right uſe thereof.

In his *Firſt Obſervation*, he *ſpeaketh of winging or ſtealing the Sword out of the Parliaments hands*, and this he brings in, to take occaſion to fall into his ſo often reiterated, and ſo notoriouſly falſe Diſcourſe *of the Scots Presbyterians* (as he here calls them) *putting the Sword into the Parliaments hands, and alſo keeping it there*; but becauſe they are the ſame things I have ſo fully ſpoken to before, I will not trouble my ſelfe here againe with them, there being nothing new in what he here ſaith, but in the laſt particular of *ſtealing the Sword out of their hands*, *for which*, he ſaith, *he knowes none, nor feares none, but thoſe who deny them to have any power in Church affaires*; and I ſay, who thoſe are, whether Independents, or their claſſicall Presbyteries, eſpecially their generall Aſſembly, let the world judge; for theſe are ſo far from acknowledging the ſupreame civill Authority in their Church affaires, that they doe hold the ſupreame authority in the State, not only obliged to ſubmit to their determinations in their generall Aſſembly, but alſo bound by civill ſanction to eſtabliſh in the Kingdom, what they ſhall in the Aſſembly reſolve and determine in Church matters, which *In ordine ad Spiritualia* they will extend far enough; here is an Independency not to be paralleled but by the Pope, neither can He at this time, and in this age ſoare ſo high, his wings having been of late clipped. Thus in reſpect to his *ſimpler ſort* whom he would abuſe, I have put my ſelfe to the trouble to diſcover the ſimplicity, and falſity of his multiplyed Obſervations upon this piece of *Cromwells* Letter, which he that reads without prejudice and malice, will finde nothing to obſerve in, but a Chriſtian affection, and deſire from thence, that Peace and Love may be maintained between Brethren, and the Magiſtrates power (which is acknowledged) may be exerciſed rather for the preſervation thereof, than, to humour violent men, be imployed in a rigid way of compelling Uniformity in matters of outward forme, which alwayes hath been obſerved to overthrow unity of ſpirit in things of Religion which are ſubſtantiall.

Having in this piece of a Letter, met with the name of *Independents*, his ſpleen is ſo ſtirred, that he cannot give over till (as his uſuall manner is) he hath railed, ſlandered, and lyed ſufficiently, though very hardly can he thinke any thing ſufficient of this kinde, and upon this occaſion, till another point fall into his fancy and put it out, and then you ſhall have him ſay as he doth here, *no more of this*

now.

now; but the next time enough, though the ſame things over againe, old lyes rather than none in this caſe. *The prime Sticklers of the Independents*, he ſaith, *have ſerued themſelves in the ſervice of the Parliament, and elſewhere into imployment, to make the world believe they are the men that doe all, and the onely Patriots, and for this end* he ſaith, *they have gained moſt of the ſcribling Pamphleters in the City, to ſet forth lyes and tales for them, and they muſt be the onely men named and proned* (his owne terme) *in Churches, if they chance to be where any action is with ſucceſſe, though they have but little hand in it*: to ſet downe *In terminis* theſe his lyes, to thoſe who know the men he aymes to diſgrace thereby, is a ſufficient conviction of his falſehood, and manifeſtation of that envy, which gnaws and eats out his ſtomach; for the knowne fidelity and ability of thoſe men, whom he would caſt theſe lyes upon, having brought them into the Parliaments ſervice and imployment, and God having pleaſed to anſwer their faithfulneſſe and diligence in doing ſervice, with ſucceſſe, this ſo encreaſes his diſeaſe, that he is ready to burſt for envy at it, and from thence come theſe ſlanders, contrary to the knowne truth, nor having the leaſt ſhadow of any prooſe for any of them; for let him inſtance in one of thoſe men he flyes out upon with theſe lyes, and makes it apparent enough he aimes at in this ſcurrile Diſcourſe of his, who hath not rather been ſought after, than ſought *imployment*; and been deſired rather for the Parliaments ſervice, than *ſerued* themſelves into it; being put into imployment in the Parliaments ſervice, they have indeavoured to doe the beſt they could to anſwer the truſt repoſed in them as good *Patriots*, not to doe *little or nothing*, and then, as he ſaith, *to be thought to doe all*, but have done ſo much in the knowledge of all men, and confeſſion of thoſe, who without envy and malice looke upon it, that they needs not *Pamphletors to tell lyes and tales for them*, nor *proning in Churches* (to uſe his Scotch phraſe) the things done, and ſervices performed, ſpeaking ſufficiently for them without theſe. But who can chuſe but obſerve here in this man, that which common experience manifeſteth to be true? Such as men are themſelves, ſuch they judge other men to be; for hath there been, or can there be found out amongſt them all ſuch a practice of *Pamphleting*, to ſet forth the praiſes of men that have indeed *done little or nothing*, and to make the world believe they are the men who have *done all*, as this *ſcriblers Pamphlet* ſet forth to magnifie the Scots? I may well ſay this *ſcribling Pamphleter* compared with all the *Pamphleters* about the City, or in the Kingdome, is to them all like one of the Sons of *Anack*, and they all but like Graſhoppers to him in this reſpect; therefore he or they who ſet him about this worke, being conſcious to themſelves of their owne practice, ſhould have done much more wiſely to have forborne to charge others falſely, with that which they knew themſelves ſo apparently guilty of; for what man will not readily hereupon hold up this *Pamphlet* (which all men ſee to be ſet forth for that purpoſe) before this *ſcriblers* eyes, and theirs he *ſcribles* for, and bid them therein ſee their owne faces as in a Glaſſe? the fooliſh man hath very often brought forth ſuch Glaſſes, thinking therein to ſhew the world an ugly face, which he would repreſent for theirs he *ſcribles* againſt, when being brought forth into the light, it hath too clearly held forth the viſage of thoſe his *Pamphlet* is *ſcribled* for, I have formerly ſhewed how little right he hath done them thereby; he goeth on railing, and takes the name of God in vaine, ſaying, *God knoweth thoſe things*, which indeed he doth know to be moſt falſely ſpoken of them he intends, by his *Independents*, that they *are the cauſe of diſturbances, Blaſphemies, damnable Hereſies*, and what elſe his foule

mouth belcheth out against them: the time will come, when if this railing man prevent it not by his repentance, which I desire for him, he will know to his cost, all these things to be as base slanders, as any wicked man could cast abroad against the Children of God, and that these mad and damnable Heresies, which have run about, have been much more hatefull to the men he intends to brand with them, than to himselfe and his fiery Presbyterians, whose zeale is more for the Scotch kirke government, as appeareth by him, than for the truth. He now brings in *his hopes*, and sheweth what his desires are by his assurance, *Credimus quod cupimus*; that is, *That as God is bringing low the publick Enemy, so he will pull downe ere long the undermining Independents*: Well look to it, that for your uncharitable wishes and desires, the same things fall not upon you Zealots for an Idoll of yours, a humane device, and policy, which you wish and desire to befall those, who indeavour to serve God in truth, according to his Will revealed in his Word, both in respect of Doctrine and Discipline: let the remembrance of these words bring you to repent for such unchristian and uncharitable hopes, desires, lyes, and slanders as this Pamphlet is full of, "*With what measure you mete, it shall be measured againe* "*unto you.*

That which followeth is nothing else but a manifestation of the same spirit of Malice, Falsehood, and Envy; for finding well-deserving in the men, and not being able to deny the services performed by them, he will invent some matter to detract from their merit, as Envy alwaies doth, though never so false and foolish, and that here he doth, beginning with non-sence: *If it were against a Forraign Enemy*, he saith, *he would acknowledge the service done by the Independents, to be the part of good Patriots; but the case is otherwise here, we have a civill Warre for Religoin and Liberty, both which, the declared Enemy, though intestine, would subvert and foyle by any meanes, if he could, and set up Tyranny*; and what then? there he leaves, lest he should fall into one of these two, either to praise the *Independents* as a good *Patriot* for his service herein; or else say, that to help or assist against those that indeavour to subvert Religion and Liberty, though by an intestine Warre and Enemy, were not praise-worthy: what a foolish argumentation have we here? he would make a difference, where, in respect of the good service done, there is no difference, but this that is to their advantage, that assisting in the later, (*a Civill Warre against Religion and Liberty to overthrow both*) makes the service, in resisting thereof, to be of greater merit, because it manifesteth greater sincerity to Religion and Liberty, from the defence whereof no private relations could withdraw them, and so makes his Objection most idle, therefore in the end he breakes off abruptly, and concludes just nothing from the difference he had begun withall: the Man had run himself cleane out of breath with railing, and so sits downe as one at a losse, who knew not where he was, nor what he had said, and what to say next. The rest is all of the same stuffe, false, foolish, ridiculously foolish, as the Reader may observe, and hath been often before shewed; therefore I will not take the paines to run after him any farther, in this idle piece of the Discourse, which makes it appeare his malice can hardly end, no not when it grows to be ridiculous in the eyes of any judicious man, if the subject of his Discourse be the men that he thinkes will never be brought to worship his Idoll, for his spleen so blindes him, that he seeth not, this difference casts out his Scots with all their great services from being good Patriots, as much as the Independents.

We are come at last to that wherewith he closeth up this his Pamphlet, framed

for

for such a purpose, together with the extolling of his Countrimen, and making excuses for them (whereof they had need enough) such at least as he could, being *the second particular* I before spake of, wherein the Reader may see what hath been hatching by this Pamphlet, the other Paper-practises, Manifesto's, Libells, and such like, spread about the City by this Incendiary and his complices, sent up and downe the Town as fit Emissaries for such a design: the Egg was brought forth, but miscarried in the hatching, therefore he would let you see what it should have been, if the Parliament would have received it: *A Petition* to be offered by a Company of his well-meaning people, prepared by such artifices as these for that purpose; and the Petition, as is most probable, prepared before hand for them; that the Parliament wanting wisdome in the matters of his Religion, that is, *his* Scotch Kirk Government, might be better instructed by his simpler sort, stirred up by the seditious practises used by him, and those of his counsell and party, whose Emissary he was: The *Parliament* wanting *zeale* also for his *good cause* in hand, and being *neglectfull of their Oath and Covenant*, which he will interpret for them, as may serve his turne, might be reproved for *their sluggishnesse*, and by his well-meaning people directed and prescribed *the time when* to do these businesses they are entrusted with, and also *what* they shall doe therein; which if the like had come unto them in the times of peace from the King himself, they would have accounted it (as it is well known to be) so great a breach of the Priviledges of the Parliament, that they would have sate still, as they have done, in that case, and medled with no businesse untill they had been righted therein: for by priviledge of Parliament, None is to take notice of what is in agitation in the Houses, untill they themselves shall publish it; and this is to be observed even betweene the two Houses one towards another, or they will, and constantly do complaine of breach of priviledge, if either House shall offer to do any such things to the other; how much lesse may such a thing be offered by private men, who are all involved in the Houses that represent them, and therefore as they have intrusted them wholly with the management of all businesses, so are they to refer the same unto them, and wait their resolutions and determinations therein, not so much as taking upon them to take any notice how they are proceeded in, or stand in either House, untill the Houses shall communicate them one to another, and then declare them publiquely to the King and Kingdome: therefore the impudent falshood of this shamelesse Pedant may appeare herein, that he is bold to impute the Houses not receiving this Chicke of his hatching, and his sitting on, as is most likely, unto the *practise of Independents*; when as the house would rather have punished it, had it been offered, as a grosse breach of their Priviledges, than entertained any Petition of that nature. Next, as his manner is, he sets up Objections of his owne framing, and then frames Answers to them, like a bold *Ignoramus*, that will be medling in things he understands not, which with him is very usuall: He talkes of *other Petitions offered to the Houses*; not being able, or wilfully neglecting to distinguish betweene such a Petition as this is, and Petitions that are usuall and agreeable to duty, as when by Petition men shall present their readinesse upon all occasions to obey and serve the Parliament, and this in testimony of their good affections to them, which these times ministred occasions for, and whereof consisted most of the Petitions he ignorantly compares with this, or otherwise when men shall make known some to the Parliament grievances, and thereupon the humble desires of some Counties or Townes, which before they had not been acquainted

with,

with, not taken cognisance of; in these Petitions there is presented in the one dutifull affections, with promise of obedience to the Houses, for to encourage them in difficult times as these were; in the other there is offered unto them some grievances not before knowne unto them, with desire that they would take them into consideration, and so leaving them wholly to their determination whom they have intrusted with all: But *this Petition* is of a far other nature, taking notice of *what* lies in consideration before them, of *their sly kneese* in proceeding in it, and directs *what* they are to doe, and the time *when*, that there be no longer delay in the businesse; then they come in with their *Reasons* and *Arguments* to enforce the same, as if the Houses wanted such men as these are to instruct them how, and when they should proceed in the businesse that lay before them: had such a Petition been laid down, and drawn in the fairest termes, and humblest manner, that a much modester, and beter pen than this mans, could have expressed it in, yet could it not but have been accounted worthy to be rejected as a very great and grosse breach of priviledge of Parliament, as all men know, who are acquainted with priviledges of Parliament. For his farther prosecution of this businesse in justification of the Petition, first by rayling against *Independents*, and then by the silly *Objections* nothing to the purpose made by himselfe, and as sillily and little to the purpose in this case, *answered* by him; the first being but the same wherein I have so often before discovered his malice and false hood; and for the other having shewed the nature of this Petition, and the priviledges of Parliament with which it cannot consist, so that all he speakes of *Petitions to Princes*, and of *our Prayers to God* and such like, in this case must needs be idlely and ignorantly spoken, quite besides the matter and to no purpose; I shall not therefore trouble my selfe any farther with it: only I desire here againe, that every man that reads him would from this, with which he ends, observe what was the maine designe of those who set this Pedant on work, to spread this seditious Pamphlet, and many such other Papers, Manifesto's, and lying Libells from time to time about the Town, and not thinking that sufficient, in sending their Emissaries also into the Towne, and upon the Exchange, to inflame the multitude, and abuse the ignorant people by tales and lies, to fill their heads with jealousies and suspitions against the Parliament, and Parliament-men of greatest fidelity, because they would not be brought to comply with them to the prejudice of this Kingdome, as I before have often touched; it was that which you may see here they indevoured to bring about by these unworthy meanes, and courses, if they could, that the multitude seduced by their lying tales, might have been stirred up, contrary to the authority and priviledge of Parliament, to come with such directing and enforcing Petitions to gaine these mens ends, and wrest from the Parliament what they would have, though the Parliament (the onely Judge of what is for the Kingdomes and Peoples good) did not judge it to be so: Now for men who pretend to Religion, to set on foot such practises as these in another Kingdome (into which they came to assist the Parliament in maintaining their Rights and Priviledges against the oppression and force of the King) as to stir up the people to infringe the *Liberties*, and breake the priviledges of Parliament as they have often done, though in a disguised way, by their appeales divers times made to the City, when after they had put in their Papers into the Houses of Parliament, they would print them, publish them, and purposely spread them about the City, to make the City Judges between the Parliament and them: Nay they proceeded so far, as to

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procure the States of *Scotland* to addreſſe themſelves to the City by their Letters, the Parliament ſitting, as if they had not been involved in the Houſes of Parliament, and to be wholly ſubjected to their determination: theſe unworthy practiſes, and ſuch other as I have ſpoken of before, acted by this, and other Emiſſaries of theirs, ſent up and downe the Town for that end, let the World, and all honeſt men in it, be Iudges of, whether they do agree with thoſe Vertues, which for their praiſe, this Trumpeter of their great acts and ſervices, ſpreads abroad ſo often, ſo vainely, indeed ſo much to their diſgrace; and let every wiſe man amongſt themſelves conſider, whether it had not been much more for their advantages, the Schoolmaſter had been left to his proper imployment, Tutoring his Boyes, than ſet on work to bring forth ſuch a Manifeſt as this proves, being truly examined?

I cannot chooſe but obſerve one thing more here, which ſticks ſo faſt in his teeth, that he cannot be rid of it nor get it downe, and that is *the murmur of the people for the Scots marching Northward*, which he will meet withall againe in this laſt leaf, and notwithſtanding all that he had ſaid before to excuſe it, it ſeemes his *ſimpler ſort*, as he here ſaith, *cannot be ſatisfied with it*: No mervaile, for it was a thing ſo unworthy, and ſo great a diſ-ſervice, that he muſt be a very ſimple man indeed, and ignorant, that could not diſcerne it, and therefore juſtly reſt unſatisfied with it: neither can all *his braggs* afterwards, *of the Scotch Nation and their carriage in this buſineſſe* (a thing uſuall with him) for which he gives us nothing more than his bare word, nor his *exclamations againſt us, for our ill requiting of them*, which hath no better evidence, ever be able to wipe out this Blot of their marching in that manner, and to that end, and at ſuch a time, Northward; nor indeed many other blots which they, eſpecially ſome of them, have caſt upon themſelves in theſe buſineſſes, and this Pedant in thinking to waſh them off, will needs do them the ill ſervice to ſet them upon the ſtage in the open view of all men, which his Manifeſt lyes for them, and ſlanders caſt upon other men, hath beene the onely occaſion of.

I Have now done with this *Fox* that ran up and downe the Towne, like one of *Sampſon's*, with *a Firebrand in his Tayl*, indeavouring to inflame the people, and poſſeſſe them with an ill opinion of the Parliament and their Proceedings, that ſo they might be the better fitted and prepared to be made uſe of, by thoſe who ſet him on work, and ſet on foot ſuch other like practiſes amongſt the people in the City for the ſame end, thinking thereby to compaſſe their deſignes.

I ſhall end with making *an Apology for my ſelf, that I, who often reproach him for Uncharitableneſs, may be thought my ſelfe failing therein, becauſe my Anſwer to this Diſcourſe of his in many places is ſomewhat tart and ſharp.* I confeſſe my heart doth no way approve of overmuch ſharpneſſe in Polemic writings; but this man, to paſs by his vaine and fooliſh boaſtings and braggs of his Country-men the *Scots*, and that to the diſgrace of this Nation, not eaſily borne withall by an Engliſh man, hath in many places beſides ſo baſely and falſely, in mine owne knowledge, traduced and ſlandered truly pious and godly men, charging them with thoſe things that they abhor to think of, much more to practiſe; and all this to the end to create offences and ſcandalls, and lay ſtumbling blocks in the way of thoſe, who being *well-affected people*, ſee not into his Deſign, which he covers over with the ſhew of *Zeale for the Church*, which *he calls Religion*, and who are likely thereby to be turned out of the right way and made a prey of, if by pulling off the vizard and clearly and fully diſcovering the foule face that lies hid under it unto them, they be not diſabuſed and preſerved from being taken in this Grinn laid to intrap them, that I therefore think it neceſſary in ſuch a caſe (to uſe his owne words, but with more reaſon and upon better ground) *to anſwer a Foole according to his folly*, leſt he ſeeme both to himſelfe and to others, to their hurt, wiſe in what he hath moſt falſely ſaid, and to as ill an end. The Vizard of Zeale for Religion prevailes very much with *well-meaning people*, as he termes them, in an inſinuating way, whom he would abuſe and bring to give credit to his lies and ſlanders, thereby to draw them to have an ill opinion, both of men, and of wayes of truth; therefore it is not onely lawfull, but neceſſary in ſuch caſes, to diſcover unto the people ſuch men and their practiſes to the full, which they uſe to maſk under the ſpecious Names of *Truth* and *Religion*, pulling off their Vailes and Masks, and making their practiſes appeare ſuch as indeed they are, that the people may be the better and ſooner brought to diſcerne them, hate them, and be kept from being inſnared by them: and in this reſpect we ſee what the *Prophet Elijah* did, and what his carriage was in *jeering the Prieſts of Baal*, that he might thereby diſcover them and their falſhood and madneſſe the more apparently to the people: this was in him, and in like caſes will be ſo in others, the exerciſe of Charity; and no breach of Charity, to have more reſpect to the people, that they may not be abuſed to their hurt, than to thoſe, and their credits who ſeeke to abuſe them; where I therefore have indeavoured to doe the ſame in this particular, having the ſame End, and doing nothing out of malice to the Party, (for whom I can deſire and pray that being hereby the more convinced of his falſehood in things of greateſt concernment, and of his ſlanders ſo often reiterated againſt men truly godly and of greateſt worth and merit, he may be brought to prevent the judgements of God by true and timely repentance) I hope I may reſt ſatisfied that I *have not broke the Rules of Charity* in this Anſwer; and that others alſo will ſo account of it.

To conclude, I now leave it to thoſe who are Indifferent and Unprejudiced, to judge, by Whom *Truth is manifeſted.*

HAving had just occasion, in this my Answer, more than once to mention the sending of *Emissaries into the City*, and upon the *Exchange*, such as *Cranford* to vent notorious lyes and base devised slanders, against honest men; that it may appear to all the world what Ground I had for that my Assertion, I shall here, as an APPENDIX to the foregoing Answer, set downe what was *witnessed* by one *Abraham Babington* a Citizen, concerning *that base slander*, *which* Cranford *published openly upon the Exchange*, going thither on purpose for that end: This which *Babington* certified with others, as I remember, against *Cranford*, at the Barre in the House of Commons, when *Cranford* had there first denyed the thing, made him acknowledge it, and for his excuse, he had nothing to say, But *that* Mr. *Baylie*, one of the Scotch Commissioners and Ministers, *wished him to doe it*; but the least Proof thereof, or the least ground of suspition for such a thing, he could not shew, nor never was by any produced. *Cranford* was *fined* as I remember 500l. and *Imprisoned* for breach of the Priviledges of the House. The Lords would never take any farther notice of it, in respect of their Members, but despised so base a practice in such a person, having been openly in the House of Commons, convinced of it, and so censured for it; *Spreta vanescunt*: But a Member of the House of Lords, did goe to Alderman *Langham*'s House, being a friend of his, to be satisfied, whether his two Sons would witnesse this, or not; which they did both much to this purpose, and as I remember, set it also under their hands. All that I wish concerning *Cranford* (to whom I beare no malice) is, that he may truely repent for so base and false a slander cast upon men of that Place and Worth, and to such an End, in such a Time and Place: whether it were a Lie of his owne inventing, or that he would carry it about being invented by another, the 15. *Psalme* may admonish him to repent for it. And as there could not be a baser Lye, than that of *the Plot*, whereof neither He, nor any Man in the world, as I have said, could ever shew the least colour or shadow of proofe; so that which he further addeth concerning *a Committee of seven Lords, and* 14. *Commons appointed to examine it, who would not meet together, because some of themselves were Parties*, is easily to be manifested to be a notorious false invented Lye; for there never was any such Committee, nor any such thing thought of in the Houses; or heard of, to appoint a Committee about, till he (as he saith) was sent to publish it upon the Exchange, for which he was presently sent for, and censured in the House, where, if there had been any such Committee appointed, he would certainly have alledged *that* in excuse of himselfe.

Being lately at Mr. Bellamy's *Shop in Cornhill, about Exchange time, there came hastily into the Shop the second Son of Alderman* Langham (*who came immediately from the Exchange*) *and asked me*, if I heard the news (*speaking also to those in the Shop*) *I answered, I heard no news*; No? *answered he*, there is as dangerous a Plot discovered as hath been known, *which was related by him to this effect*; *that* a Sub-Committee of the grand Committee, or Committee of both Kingdomes had, and did hold correspondency with the Kings party, endeavouring to secure to themselves, their Estates and Lives, and in answer hereof engaged themselves to deliver up into the Kings hands all such Townes, Forts, Magazines, &c. as were intrusted in their hands, or what else, in furtherance of the Kings Designes: *This he affirmed that Mr.* Cranford *the Minister should make* publick upon the Exchange, in the hearing of many, *wishing* (I meane Mr. *Cranford*) *that those that heard him*

would make it more publick, and ſay to this effect, and he would make all good; and *ſaith Mr.Langham*, Mr. *Cranford* is now come from the Houſe, and therefore you need not doubt of it, *as* Cranford *himſelfe had related. But within three houres after, going to the Exciſe Office, with one of the Officers of Excoſe, I met, in Broadſtreet, both Alderman* Langhams *Sons, who were giving a large deſcription of this aforementioned buſineſſe to Alderman* Cullam, *and after they had made it knowne to the full, it fell to my ſhare againe to demand*, if he could juſtifie what before he had informed me concerning the great Plot; *the Elder Gentleman, with the ſecond, anſwered*, that their Father had ſent them both to Mr. *Cranford*, to know farther of the great Plot that he had made ſo publick upon the Exchange; Mr. *Cranford* (*as they told me*) ſeemed very glad to heare that they were ſent by their Father, (*for ſo he expreſſed*) *ſaying*, your Father is a ſtirring man, and I deſire he ſhould know the full of it, *which, ſaith Mr.* Cranford *is thus*; There is a Sub-Committe, of the grand Committee of both Kingdomes, and this Sub-Committee have indeavored to betray us and the Kingdome to ſave their owne Lives and Eſtates: *In what manner would they have betray'd the Kingdome, demands the Eldeſt Son?* Mr. *Cranford anſwers*, Sir, the Plot is as dangerous a Plot of Treaſon, as hath been known for a long time; for ſaith *Mr. Cranford*, this Sub-Committee have held correſpondency with the Kings party, and have engaged themſelves to give the King notice of all our deſignes, and doe what lay in their power, to deliver up all Townes, Forts, Caſtles, Magazines, and that they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt, provided they might have ſecurity for their owne Lives and Eſtates. *Mr.* Langham *farther deſired Mr.* Cranford *to tell him* who they were *that thus endeavored to betray the Kingdome?* Sir, (*ſaith Mr.* Cranford) I have a Bedroll of Ten of them in my pocket, and you ſhall know who they are, for *ſaith he*, I deſire they may be knowne, and to make the buſineſſe as publick as I may; their names are theſe, viz. *the Lord* Say, *the Lord* Wharton, *Sir* Henry Vane *Junior*, *Mr.* Sollicitor, theſe are freſheſt in my memory, therefore I inſert no other, onely the Lord of *Northumberland*; yea farther, *ſaith Mr.* Cranford, (*according to theſe Gentlemens relation*) there is a Committee of ſeven Lords and fourteen Commons choſen to examine this Plot, and an Order, That unleſſe all were preſent, it ſhould not be examined; and that theſe ſeaven Lords and fourteen Commons would not be got together, many of them being parties in the Plot. This that I have told you (*ſaith Mr. Cranford*) you may make it publick, and I will make it good; *every part hereof I queſtion not but will be made good by thoſe two Gentlemen before inſerted*: This very relation to the full did I hear from them a third time the ſame Evening upon the Exchange in the hearing of many; *it being Mr.* Cranfords *deſire to make it publick. This is the ſumme of what I heard from them.*

Abraham Babington.

FINIS.

Becauſe

BEcause the base *Lies* and *Slanders* cast upon the *Houses of Parliament*, and upon *this Nation*, by *this Pamphleter*, have given occasion and forced me to lay open to the view of the world, what in truth were *the Proceedings of the Commissioners of Scotland*, *and their carriages towards the Parliament*, while they resided in this Kingdome: that it may not be thought or suspected, these things which I have mentioned in *this Answer*, doe proceed out of spleen, or any ill affection to *that Nation*, or their persons in particular; I have thought it necessary to annex hereunto, first, *The Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, concerning the Papers of the Scots Commissioners, upon the New Propositions of Peace, and the foure Bills to be sent to the King, and concerning their Proceedings in the Isle of Wight*; Together with *The Answers of the Houses to their Papers of the* 29. *and* 30. *of Septemb. and of the* 9. *of Octob.* 1646. And also *To their Papers of the* 20. *and their Letter of the* 24. *of October*. I have also added the *foure Bills*: By all which it will the more clearely appeare, *what ends the Scots Commissioners aimed at, and what wayes and courses they tooke to attain their ends, what ill effects those practises had, and what the judgement of the Parliament was concerning such practises of theirs, and how deeply they resented the same.*

A DECLARATION OF The *Lords* and *Commons* assembled in PARLIAMENT,

Concerning the Papers of the Scots Commissioners.

Entituled, The Answer of the Commissioners of the Kingdome of Scotland *to both Houses of Parliament, upon the New Propositions of Peace, and the foure Bills to be sent to his Majesty: And concerning the Proceedings of the said Commissioners in the* Isle of Wight.

WE the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England*, calling to mind the great and unspeakable Mercy of God to both the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, in wholly subduing under them the common Enemies of

both; And yet obſerving the reſtleſſe malice of their Spirits, and how being now deveſted of all Power, to carry on wayes of Force, they ſeek by Craft and Subtility, to Undermine the power, and Diſturb the Peace of both Kingdomes; as on the one ſide we have great cauſe to lift up our Hearts to God in thankfulneſs; So on the other ſide we have alſo good reaſon to exerciſe our thoughts in watchfulneſſe, it being now the Deſign of their common Enemies, by dividing them within themſelves, and againſt themſelves, to deſtroy them both, and under pretence of ſatisfying all Intereſts, to ſet up indeed one onely Intereſt (which is their owne) to ſwallow up all the reſt. To the advancing of this Deſign of the common Enemy, the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* for a long time have made themſelves, or have been made very inſtrumentall, whileſt forgetting the worke about which they came, and the true Intereſt of thoſe from whom they came, they have made it their worke by their practices, and Papers, to diſaffect the People of both Kingdomes to the proceedings of the Parliament of *England*; and on the other hand to incline and diſpoſe them to cloſe with the King and his party, upon Termes apparently deſtructive to both Kingdomes, and to the ends for which they have ingaged in this Warre. This maketh us to call to minde a paſſage in one of their owne Papers of the 28. of *July*, 1645. wherein they ſay, *That they had reaſon from what they had learn'd in times paſt, to apprehend that men will not be at reſt, but ſtill be dealing underhand, and tampering for a Peace of their owne making, and for their owne private ends, to the great prejudice of the Publique, the further alienating of the Kings heart from a Safe and Well-grounded Peace, and the delaying of the Intentions of both Kingdomes.* We wiſh that what they did then apprehend, by what they had learned in time paſt, they have not now learned to practice themſelves; for their papers complexion very much that way; eſpecially thoſe lately preſented to both Houſes of Parliament, and (as is their cuſtome) preſently after printed and publiſhed, and intituled, *The Anſwer of the Commiſſioners of the Kingdome of Scotland, to both Houſes of Parliament upon the new Propoſitions of Peace, and the foure Bills to be ſent to His Majeſty:*

Concerning which Papers we have thought fit to make this Declaration, to Undeceive the mindes of the People of both Kingdoms, who may otherwiſe be miſled by Miſrepreſentations and Aſperſions caſt upon the Parliament of *England* and their Proceedings. And we deſire it may be remembred, That when we ſpeak of the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, we intend not throughout the whole Declaration the Kingdome of *Scotland*, who we reſt confident will not owne their Commiſſioners in theſe Papers, in their Tranſactions in the Iſle of *Wight*, nor in many other of their Papers and proceedings when they ſhall be truly informed of their Carriage; But that the Kingdom of *Scotland* will be ready to doe to us and themſelves right. And now we proceed to the particulars of their Papers.

The Commiſſioners of *Scotland* ſay, *That they had uſed their beſt endeavours, for ſetling Religion and a happy Peace; and that we would not concur with them, to ſend againe to the King, the Propoſitions firſt ſent to him to* Oxford, *and after treated upon at* Uxbridge: Then they charge us, *That in the alteration of them, we uſed long delayes; and in the end made alterations principally in matters that did concerne the neer Union of the Kingdomes; and that notwithſtanding, out of their earneſt deſire of Peace, waving what might be conceived for the particular intereſt of the Kingdome of Scotland, they did joyne with the Houſes in preſenting Propoſitions to His Majeſty at* New-

Newcastle, *though as they then declared, they had just reason to be unsatisfied with divers things contained in those Propositions.*

As to the Propositions sent to *Oxford*, we had good cause to make Alterations in them, so far as they referred to the Kingdome of *England*, whereof we are not bound to give any accompt to the Commissioners of *Scotland*, no more than we had, or expected any from them, for what Alterations they made, or might further have made in those things that particularly concerned the Kingdome of *Scotland*. And whereas they charge us with Delay, though they take upon them to censure our proceedings, they doe not yet sit amongst us to be witnesses of our diligence, whereby they might be Judges of our Delay; But they have been often occasions of our hinderance, by their interpositions in things that concerned not them at all. As for the Alterations which, they say, *are principally in matters which concerne the neer Union of the Kingdomes.* The principal Alterations in the Propositions sent to *Oxford*, which did relate to both Kingdomes, were these; In the Propositions sent to *Oxford*, the *Militia* by Sea and Land, in all the Three Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, was placed in Commissioners of both the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*; and the exercise of their powers in all the Three Kingdomes intermixed. In the Propositions sent to *Newcastle*, the power of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, was kept distinct in the Parliaments of both Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, to be ordered and exercised as they from time to time should appoint, with expresse power notwithstanding to conjoyne the Forces of both Kingdomes for their common good, upon the Advice and Desire of the Kingdomes respectively, and not otherwise, and with a power also granted to Commissioners for Conservation of the Peace between the Two Kingdomes, to act according to the powers in that behalfe expresst in the Articles of the large Treaty, and not otherwise.

In the Propositions sent to *Oxford* it was desired, That the Warre of *Ireland* should be managed by the Joynt Advice of both Kingdomes: In those sent to *Newcastle* it was desired that the Warre of *Ireland* should be managed by both Houses of the Parliament of *England*: In the Propositions sent to *Oxford*, there was one concerning the Education and Marriage of the Kings Children, and of the Children of His Heirs and Successors, with the Advice and Consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, or in the Intervals of Parliaments, by their Commissioners: And another Proposition, That the concluding of Peace or Warre with Forraigne Princes and States, should be with the like Advice: There was also another Proposition for the passing an Act of Oblivion in the Parliaments of both Kingdomes respectively, And there was a fourth Proposition, That the Armies might be disbanded at such time, and in such manner as should be agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, or such as should be authorised by them to that effect.

These foure last Propositions were omitted in those sent to *Newcastle*; the last being a branch of the *Militia*, and the rest matters which the Houses held fit to be referred to farther consideration. So that it is most apparent, the Alterations tend onely to prevent Confusion, by the mixture of the particular Rights of each Kingdom; which distinction between Union and Confusion, is the best, if not the onely means to prevent a worse Division, and to preserve the *Brotherly Union*, which is for common ends, without the confusion of particular Rights and Interests.

For the waving of what might be conceived for the particular Interest of the King-

dome of Scotland: We never desired them to wave any thing of that kinde; but if their exercising Interest within the Kingdome of *England*, were conceived by them to be an Interest of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, they waved what they never had, nor will by us ever be granted, nor can by them be claimed as a Right of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, without their breach of the Covenant.

And as to their declaring, *That they had just reason to be unsatisfied with divers things contained in the Propositions sent to* Newcastle: We declared at the same time, That they had just reason to be satisfied therewith, and we had just cause to believe, That our reason seemed better to them also, because they agreed to send them. We have not hitherto supposed, that they would ever have consented to such things, as they themselves esteemed to be contrary to their Oath of Allegiance and Covenant, or should have said it of them: But we must needs now observe, That in these Papers they doe make some of those things, to which they then consented, to be now contrary to the Oath of Allegiance and Covenant, as by their words hereafter following, wherein they argue against the Propositions concerning the Militia, and Titles of Honour (whereunto themselves had formerly consented) doth plainly appeare: Their words are these;

That next to Religion, wherein we differ in judgement from the Propositions, & concerning the Interest and Power of the Crowne: We are obliged by our Covenant, Allegiance, *and* Duty of Subjects, *not to diminish, but to support the Kings just power and greatnesse: The Question then is, wherein His Royal Authority and Just Power doth consist; And we affirme, and hope it cannot be denied, that regall Power and Authority, is chiefly in making and enacting Lawes, and in protecting and defending their Subjects, which are of the very essence and being of all Kings; And the exercise of that Power, are the chiefe parts and duties of their Royall Office and Function; And the Scepter and the Sword are the Badges of that Power. Concerning the power of the Militia, we do desire, and shall be willing to agree, That it may be settled, as neither the King nor any other, be able to disturb or infringe the Peace now to be agreed upon: And we think, that in His Message from* Carisbrook *Castle, He hath offered that which should be very satisfactory; But that the King, His Posterity, and the Crown, should for ever be devested of all power and right of the Militia, is different from our judgement: For if the Crown have no power of the Militia, how can they be able to resist their Enemies, and the Enemies of the Kingdome, protect their Subjects, or keep friendship or correspondency with their Allies? All Kings by their Royal Office and Oath of Coronation, are obliged to protect their Lawes and Subjects; It were strange then to seclude the Crowne for ever from the power of doing that, which by the Oath of Coronation they are obliged to performe, and the Obedience whereunto falleth within the* Oath of Allegiance. *Touching the conferring Titles of Honour, we desire the King, who is the fountain of Honor, may not be deprived of that which in all Ages and Kingdomes hath been held and esteemed a Flower of the Crown.*

These are the Scottish Commissioners words; and the same words and Arguments, or to the same effect, were used to the same purpose by the King in His Declarations at the beginning of this War; as particularly in his Declaration intituled, *His Majesties Answer to a printed Book, intituled, A Remonstrance, or The Declaration of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parl. the 26. of May, 1642. in answer to a Declarat. under his Majesties Name, concerning the business of* Hull; where He saith, Be-

Besides, can it be imagined, that the King should be bound by Oath, to passe such Lawes (and such a Law is the Bill they brought to Us of the Militia) as should put the Power, wherewith He is trusted, out of Himselfe in the hands of other men, and devest and disable Him of all possible Power to performe the great businesse of the Oath, which is to protect them; If we give away all our Power, or if it be taken from Us, We cannot protect any men: And what a charge would it be for Us, either before God or Man, when our good Subjects, whom God and the Law hath committed to our charge, shall be worryed and spoiled, to say, That we trusted others to protect them, that is, to doe that Duty for Us which is essentially and inseparably *Our own.*

In the next place they say, *That when it was agreed upon betwixt the Kingdomes, that the same Propositions should be againe presented to His Majesty at His coming to* Holdenby, *the performance thereof being delayed by the Houses for divers Monthes, they did patiently waite their leasure; yet upon a sudden they did appoint a peremptory day for sending the Propositions to His Majesty; and gave Order to their Commissioners, in case they were not precisely upon that day at* Hampton-Court, *that they should present the Propositions to the King alone, contrary to the Treaty betwixt the Kingdomes.*

To what they say, That they *patiently waited* our leisure, they might have rather said *silently* then *patiently*; for between the Kings coming to *Holdenby*, and the presenting of the Propositions to Him at *Hampton* Court, they did not presse the sending of the Propositions to the King as formerly they had done: But the Houses after the King was come to *Holdenby*, did often presse the Scottish Commissioners to joyne with them for sending the Propositions to the King, which they delayed to doe, alleaging, that they expected some others from *Scotland*, before whose coming they could not joyne with us. Nay, it had been said by some or one of them (as we are credibly informed) That they held it not fit the Propositions should be sent to the King, till the Army under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* were first disbanded; then indeed they might have brought the King to *London* whether the Parliament would or no, and have brought the Parliament to a Personal Treaty with Him, and therein to what Terms and Conditions He and they pleased. Thus it appeares from whom and from whence the delay arose at that time, *and for the sending of them after on a sudden*; who would have thought any time could have been on a sudden, to those that make such professions of their constant readinesse, and that they waited onely upon the Houses of Parliament, especially when they were obliged to send the same Propositions without Alteration? If there had been any such thing in the Treaty (as is pretended, and which shall be cleared in its proper place) that there ought to be an Agreement with the Advice and Consent of both Nations, in those things which are to be the foundation of the Peace of both: Yet were these Propositions agreed on by both Kingdoms, and that they should be sent, onely the very day, when they should be sent was not determined; and the Condition of our Affaires could not at that time suffer delayes, nor were we obliged to waite their leisure in such a circumstance. And if presenting or Pressing of Propositions, agreed upon by both Kingdomes, by either of them apart, were a breach of the Treaty, why did the Commissioners of *Scotland* break it? by doing the same thing at *Newcastle*, before the Kingdome of *England* had declared, that they would have the same Propositions any more presented, much lesse pressed upon the King?

After they quarrell with the Houses of Parliament, *That whereas by their Pa-*

per of the Fifth of November *they had desired there might be a Personall Treaty with the King here in* London; *and that after the receipt of new Propositions from the Houses to be presented to His Majesty, they did by their Paper of the Seventeenth of* November *insist upon their former desire of a Personall Treaty with His Majesty; but receiving no Answer to either of their Papers, and their positive Answer being demanded to the new Propositions, on the Three and twentieth of* November *they resolved once againe to desire an Answer to their former Papers; and also desired a Conference with a Committee of both Houses, concerning the expediency of a Personall Treaty with His Majesty, and the Alterations made in the Propositions, that so according to the Treaty of the Twenty ninth of* November, 1643. *(as they say, which shall be answered in its proper place) there might be with the Advice and Consent of both Nations a speedy Agreement in those things which are to be the foundation of the Peace of both. To all which the Houses had been pleased to return no Answer, however that it was no small satisfaction to them, that they receive no meanes of Agreement unessayed, and that the retardment of setling the Peace of the Kingdomes cannot be charged on them.*

We say, That we had as much reason to be unsatisfied with their returning no Answer to our new Propositions (as they call them) which we sent to them, but in stead thereof, insisting still upon their Papers, and Desires for a Treaty: As they are unsatisfied that we did not returne them an answer to their Desires concerning a Treaty, before they had returned us an answer concerning the Propositions sent unto them; the way of Propositions having been never excepted against by either Kingdome, but that of a Treaty having been Voted against, and disapproved by the Houses of Parliament; and a Treaty at *London* (which was their desire) before any Satisfaction and Security given by the King to his Kingdomes, having been joyntly declared against by both Kingdoms, which was reason enough for the Houses to decline any Conference with them by Committees of both Houses upon *that subject*, and much more concerning such Alterations in the Propositions as we made in relation onely to this Kingdome, although the Scotish Commissioners had not given them sufficient cause to be sparing of such Conferences, by what was done after the Conference with Committees of both Houses in the Painted Chamber, concerning the disposing of the person of the King; At which Conference the Scotish Commissioners having engaged our Committees to make no Report of any thing had passed at the same, till they had delivered their owne Answer in writing; and before any Report made by our Committees, or any Paper put into the Houses by the Scotish Commissioners, some of them did give Directions for the printing Three thousand Copies of the Lord Chancellors Speech at that Conference, which by the Printers Confession had been published on Thursday the Fifteenth of *October*, 1646. had they not been sent for by an order of the House of Commons Wednesday the Fourteenth of the same moneth; After which time, and not before, they received order from the Scotish Commissioners not to publish them till farther directions; which Speeches were after published, and said to be printed at *Edinburgh*.

As to the Conclusion wherewith they close their Narrative of the matter of Fact, *That the retardment of the setling of the Peace of the Kingdomes cannot be charged on them*, with a reflection of the contrary on the Houses of Parliament:

The Houses of Parliament, by a vigorous prosecution of the Warre, have so farre

farre advanced a Peace and Settlement, that the Forces of the Enemy are wholly ſuppreſſed, and thereby the Warre is brought to an end (as the Scotiſh Commiſſioners often acknowledge in theſe Papers) and if that be not a Peace, it is ſomething very neare it, and which fairely promiſed a full ſettlement of the Kingdomes, had not the Scotiſh Commiſſioners by their proceedings in the Iſle of *Wight*, and theſe Papers, put men into Apprehenſions of New Troubles; And therefore, if formerly they have done any thing towards a Settlement, in theſe laſt Actions, they have done much more towards an Unſettlement of the Kingdomes, as every wiſe man will undoubtedly judge, and the Kingdomes (if God prevent it not) may ſadly feele.

After a Narrative of the matter of Fact, the Scotiſh Commiſſioners diſtinguiſh betweene ſome things *which properly concern the Kingdome of* England, *their Rights, Lawes and Liberties, and other matters, which either of their owne nature are common to both Kingdomes, or by Covenant, or Treaty, concern both Kingdomes; and promiſe, that in the Application of this Diſtinction, they will not ſtretch themſelves beyond their line. The expreſſe Conditions of their ſolemn League and Covenant. The duty of their Allegiance, and the Treaties and the Declarations betweene the Kingdomes; which are ſuch ſtrong Obligations, as all that have Honour or Conſcience muſt acknowledge, ſhould be inviolably obſerved.*

We cannot admit all thoſe to be expreſſe Conditions of the Covenant and Treaty, which the Scotiſh Commiſſioners expreſſe to be ſo. We have known of ſome that have diſtinguiſhed betweene things Spirituall and Temporall, but yet *in ordine ad ſpiritualia* have brought in all things whatſoever: In like manner, what with the Covenant, and what with the Treaty, and with their Oath of Allegiance, the Scotiſh Commiſſioners ſo order the buſineſſe, that they leave nothing almoſt to the Kingdome of *England*, wherein they doe not challenge a ſhare of Intereſt for the Kingdome of *Scotland*: We affirme thoſe things which may be eſteemed moſt common to both Kingdomes, are not held by them in common, neither are their Intereſts therein to be exerciſed in common, but diſtinctly, according to the ſeverall Rights and Cuſtomes of each Kingdome reſpectively, and thoſe ends that are moſt common to both, are notwithſtanding to be proſecuted in the ſame manner, according to *each ones ſeverall place and calling*, and not otherwiſe, as is more fully cleared in our Anſwer to the Scotiſh Commiſſioners Papers of the Twentieth, and their Letter of the Twenty fourth of October, One thouſand ſix hundred and forty ſix, concerning the diſpoſing of the perſon of the King.

Having laid downe and cleared this foundation of Right and Juſtice betweene the Kingdomes, we proceed to the reſt of their Diſcourſe, wherein the Logick of their Method ſeemeth ſomething ſtrange unto us, that they ſhould firſt take into conſideration the Manner before the Matter of the Addreſſe to the King; whereas in Reaſon the Matter is to precede the Manner, and from the different nature hereof, the manner of Addreſs may fall under a different conſideration, ſome things being of that nature, that they are not fit to be ſubjected to Treaty, and other things fit to be treated on. But the Scotiſh Commiſſioners are ſtill true to their ends, which being to pleaſe the King, what He firſt deſireth, to wit, A perſonall Treaty at *London* is firſt in their Thoughts and Diſcourſe, hoping, as the King doth, when they have firſt gained that point, by it to bring the Propoſitions to ſuch Terms as they pleaſe, which are ſuch as may pleaſe the King; yet

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ſince their Principles have led them into this order, we will follow them in their Method, though not in their Principles.

The Scotiſh Commiſſioners lay it down as their Judgement and Opinion, *That the moſt equall, fairest and juſt way, to obtain a well-grounded Peace, is by a perſonall Treaty with the King, and that His Majeſty for that end be invited to come to* London, *with Honour, Freedome and Safety*, for which they offer ſevetall Reaſons. But firſt it is to be obſerved, that as the caſe is now ſtated, though they leave it out of their Poſition, yet the Suppoſition is, That this Treaty ſhould be upon All the Propoſitions; for thoſe which are moſt eſſentiall to their ſecurity, offered to the King in four Bills, being by Him aſſented unto, they were willing to admit of a Treaty upon the reſt, and none of the Scotiſh Commiſſioners Reaſons conclude for a Treaty upon the whole; neither doe they conclude for it neceſſarily to be at *London*, nor doe any of them much more conclude againſt the way of Propoſitions; and for the way of a Treaty now, then when the Propoſitions were ſent to *Newcaſtle*, or when they were agreed after by both Kingdoms to be ſent to the King to *Holdenby*.

But now we come more particularly to their particular Reaſons.

To the firſt: whereas they ſay. *That the ſending of Propoſitions without a Treaty hath been often eſſayed without ſucceſſe, and that the New Propoſitions are leſſe to the advantage of the Crown than the former, Therefore we have no reaſon to expect better Satisfaction that way than formerly we had.*

We aske, what reaſon have we to expect better Satisfaction in the way of a Treaty, than formerly we had therein at *Uxbridge*, or in a perſonall Treaty at *Oxford*, unleſſe we be reſolved beforehand to treat away all that we have fought for, and to be treated out of what we could not be fought out of? Or at leaſt, what can we expect of a Treaty, but that under pretence of ſatisfying *all Intereſts*, one Intereſt ſhall be ſet up againſt another, to divide us, and that thereby (having laid no foundation of Safety beforehand) the King might ſet up His Intereſt above them all. If ſucceſſe and advantage of the Crown, in the Kings eſteem, muſt be the meaſures of our Reſolutions, and that thereby we muſt have the way, or terms of our Peace cut out unto us, it will be as ſtrong an Argument afterward (and it may be that was to have been the next ſtep) to make us depart from the matter, as from the way of our Propoſitions, the King having ſo often and ſo peremptorily declared His Averſeneſſe to the moſt materiall points therein, and accounting them ſo prejudiciall to His Crowne and Dignity. If we cannot have Peace but upon theſe termes, *viz.* The Will of the King, and the Advantage of the Crown in the Kings eſteeme; upon theſe termes we needed not to have had any Warre, which had been much the more Chriſtian reſolution, and would have ſaved the effuſion of much blood, whereof if we proceed upon ſuch Principles as thoſe, we muſt needs draw the whole guilt upon our ſelves; And yet if there were any things in thoſe Propoſitions, that the King and His party might conceive leſſe to the Advantage of the Crowne, they muſt be in the reſt of the Propoſitions not contained in the foure Bills, for they were the ſame as before (except onely the declaratory Law concerning the Adjournement of the Parliament) ſo that thoſe propoſitions being ſubjected to a Treaty, it would have come more handſomely from the King, or His Commiſſioners to have alleaged that upon the

Treaty,

Treaty, than for the Commissioners of *Scotland* to use it as an Argument for a Treaty.

To the second Reason, wherein they argue, *That the Kings removall from His Parliament is acknowledged by the Houses in severall Declarations to be the chiefe cause of all the Warre, Mischief and Calamities of the Kingdomes, and that then His Majesties presence with the Parliament must be the best, if not the onely remedy to remove our troubles.*

We say, The Scotch Commissioners mistake their aym, if they think the Kings presence with the Parliament, necessarily implyeth His presence at *London*, which he and they so much desire, that He might have opportunity to Cajole the Citizens. If His presence with the Parliament were necessary, yet is it not necessary the Parliament should be at *London*: And as much doe they mistake the Parliaments Declarations, if they think it was the Kings *Locall* absence from His Parliament, which they Declared to be the chiefe cause of all the Warre, Mischief and Calamities of the Kingdomes, any otherwise then it was in order to His distance from them in Affections, and His opposition to their Councels, and endeavours to destroy them. Indeed His presence with His Parliament, with contrary Affections and Intentions to those, might by the like reason have been the best remedy to remove our troubles; but His returne to His Parliament with the same Affections and Intentions, that is, to destroy and undermine His Parliament, and to renew the Warre against them, is as great a reason for His absence from it, as His absence formerly from it in order to destroy it, and to begin a Warre against them, was then a reason for His presence. Such Arguments as these from the contrary Consequences of Contraries, are very fallacious where the Contraries in all circumstances are not alike in proportion to their Consequences: It would be an ill Argument; because it was for our good that the Scots Army came into *England*, when we called them, and had need of them, that therefore it was for our hurt that they went out when we desired them, and had no more need of them. Such Sophistry as this better becomes the Schools then the Senate.

To their Third Reason, *That without a Treaty, or giving Reasons for asserting the lawfulnesse and expediency of the Propositions to be presented to the King, they may be esteemed Impositions.*

We say, The Committees of the Estates of *Scotland*, and the Lord Chancellor of that Kingdome, in their name gave Reasons for the Propositions at *Newcastle*, and what did they thereby prevaile, or what Reasons have they thought on since, which they judge more effectuall then those at that time urged by their Lord Chancellor in His Speech to the King at *Newcastle*; wherein, amongst other things he saith, *Your Majesties Friends, and the Commissioners from* Scotland *(after all the wrestling they could) were forced to consent to the sending of those Propositions, or to be hated as the hinderers of Peace, and to send no Propositions at all. And now, Sir, if Your Majesty (Which God forbid) shall refuse to assent to the Propositions, You will lose all Your Friends, lose the City, and all the Country, and all* England *will joyn against you as one man; and (when all hope of reconciliation is past) it is to be feared they will proceed, and depose you, and set up another Government; They*

will charge us to deliver Your Majeſty to them, and to render the Northern Garriſons, and to remove our Army out of England; And upon Your Majeſties refuſing the Propoſitions, both Kingdomes will be conſtrained (for their mutuall Safety) to agree and ſettle Religion and Peace without You; *which (to our unſpeakable griefe) will ruine Your Majeſty and Your Poſterity: And if Your Majeſty reject our faithfull Advice (who deſire nothing on earth more than the eſtabliſhment of Your Majeſties Throne) and loſe* England *by Your wilfulneſſe, Your Majeſty will not be permitted to come and ruine* Scotland. What reaſon can be ſtronger in the end from us, than the Judgement of both Houſes of Parliament, being the Repreſentative of the whole Kingdome? Or what if the King will not be ſatisfied with all the Reaſons they can give Him, ſhall not the Propoſitions (if inſiſted upon) ſtill be Impoſitions? Nay, unleſſe all Forces be disbanded, all His Garriſons and Navy (as He calleth them) delivered into His hands, and Armes be put again into the hands of thoſe He eſteemeth His Friends, and they admitted into Parliament, and Places of Truſt, as much as others, will not the King eſteem all Propoſitions, Impoſitions? If the way of reaſon and perſwaſion be the *onely equal, fair, and juſt way to obtain a well grounded Peace*, which they ſpeak of, ſure all our Propoſitions hitherto have been Impoſitions, and we have gone in a very foul way hitherto, which ſhould have been taken into conſideration before we had engaged our ſelves and the Kingdomes in ſo much Coſt and Blood, which was not onely ſpent unneceſſarily, but alſo very unlawfully, if we muſt goe no way but that of perſwaſion, and that all things demanded, or gained otherwiſe, are to be eſteemed unjuſt Impoſitions. Who doth not ſee, that theſe Principles do not onely bring upon us all the blood that hath been ſhed in this VVar, but alſo plucketh up the foundation of any hope of ever ſetling a Peace with the King, which ſhall be both juſt and ſure, ſeeing we cannot have it juſtly, but upon His Terms, which no man that hath his eyes in his head, can believe, that they will be other than ſuch as tend to the apparent deſtruction of the perſons which have engaged, and loſſe of the ends for which both Kingdoms have engaged in this VVar.

To their fourth and ſixth Reaſons, *That the King might have ſome juſt Deſires to move for the Crown, and for Himſelf, and that every thing in the Propoſitions might not be of that importance, as that the not granting of it ought to hinder a Peace.*

We ſay, That the things moſt eſſential to our Security, being granted by the Kings aſſent to the Four Bils ſent unto Him to that purpoſe, We did not decline a Treaty upon the reſt, wherein ſuch things as could be diſpenſed withall in the Propoſitions, might have been taken into conſideration, and the Kings Deſires alſo; But certainly, neither in Reaſon, nor by the Covenant, were they to precede, but rather to come after the Security of our Religion and Liberties.

As to their fifth Reaſon, wherein they ſay, *That a Perſonal Treatie is the beſt way to beget a mutual Confidence between the King and His Parliament.*

We ſay, Confidence without proportionable aſſurance, is always dangerous,

and

and uſually ends in greater diffidence, unleſſe the party over-confident being undermined be ſwallowed up in deſpair, and the aſſurances, which the King might have had, and expected from the Parliament being real, and all that the King can give them over and above what they may give themſelves, being little more than verbal, ſaving in opinion, they have reaſon to have at leaſt full, as well as fair words; and the bringing of the King to *London* for a Perſonal Treaty with the Parliament, before the maine points in difference between them be ſettled, and aſſured, is to no other purpoſe, but to increaſe that fond Humor of Confidence in miſled and deceived people, which prevaileth in them too much already before they have Aſſurance, which they and their Poſterity may after rue and repent, when it is too late to help it.

As to the Objection which they take notice of to be common, and once to have been their own alſo, as well as the Parliaments, *That the Kings preſence may breed diviſion, and continue our troubles; and that when his Majeſty deſired to come to* London *from* Oxford *with freedom and ſafety, it was thought unfit, and denied by the Houſes and the Commiſſioners from* Scotland.

Whereas they would evade this Objection by the difference of Times, and of the ſtate of Affairs, they will not allow the ſame to the Houſes of Parliament, in Anſwer to what they cite in the next Clauſe out of their Declaration of the 11th. of *Septemb.* 1642. although there the different reaſon from the difference of Times, and condition of Affairs, is moſt real and apparent; whereas here it is a meer evaſion, as is clearly made to appear in our aforementioned Anſwer to the Scotch Commiſſioners Papers of the 20. and their Letter of the 24. of *Octob.* 1646. concerning the diſpoſing of the Kings Perſon; where although this evaſion of theirs (being the very ſame they had uſed before) and their Argument alſo from our Declaration of the 11th of *September* 1642. (the ſame) are both fully anſwered. Yet they take no notice either of the one, or of the other; but ſince they are ſo much in love with their Anſwer and Argument, wee have as little reaſon to be out of love with the Reply and Anſwer made thereunto; which being full and clear in the Point, we ſhall content our ſelves with the recital of the ſame.

" And whereas your Lordſhips find a difference in the times when both King-
" doms ſent to the King in anſwer to His Letter of the 26. and 29. of *December*
" laſt, deſiring to come hither, for that he had then both Garriſons and Field
" forces unreduced, We deſire your Lordſhips to remember, That although
" thoſe paſſages of His having Garriſons and Forces be in the Letter, yet the
" main matter inſiſted upon was in theſe words, ***We conceive, That untill Satisfaction and Security be firſt given to both Your Kingdomes, Your Majeſties coming hither cannot be convenient, nor by us aſſented unto.*** " And which doth further appear in a-
" nother Letter ſent from the Parliament, and your Lordſhips, in *March* laſt, in
" Anſwer to a Letter of the Kings of the three and twentieth of the ſame *March*,
" wherein the ſame words of *SATISFACTION* and *SECURITY*
" are again expreſſly repeated. And there hath not been any Act done by the
" King ſince that time, that hath in the leaſt given *Satisfaction* or *Security* to this
" Kingdome. But however your Lordſhips well know, That the King at the
" ſending of the laſt Letter, had no Forces in the Field, nor Garriſons unblock'd

"up: And he hath as many Forces now when you make theſe Deſires for him; "as he had, when to your unſpeakable grief (as you ſay in your Papers) He in "His denyal to grant the Propoſitions ſent him from both Kingdomes, made "then the ſame Deſire for Himſelf. Your Lordſhips recite our Anſwer to His "Majeſties Meſſage of the eleventh of *September* 1642. to which we ſhall need "ſay no more. There is a large difference between what is to be done to pre- "vent a War, which the common Enemy did begin by keeping the King from "us, and what is to be done after ſuch a War to ſecure a Peace.

And we cannot but obſerve, That whereas not onely the Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland*, in a Declaration ſent to the King, charge Him *with being guilty of the ſhedding of the blood of many thouſands of His beſt Subjects*: But alſo theſe Commiſſioners concurring with the Houſes of Parliament in their Anſwer of the thirteenth of *January* to the Kings Letters of *December* the twenty ſixth, and twenty ninth, One thouſand ſix hundred forty five, amongſt other things make it their firſt and chief reaſon, why they could not conſent to the Kings coming to *London*, and to a Perſonal Treaty deſired by Him, *Untill Satisfaction and Security were firſt given to both His Kingdomes, becauſe ſo much innocent blood of His good Subjects had been ſhed in this War by His Commands and Commiſſions*: Theſe are their words, and yet now before any Satisfaction given either for that blood, or in the matters for which ſo much blood hath been ſpilt, He muſt be invited to *London* with Honor, Freedom, and Safety, there to Treat, Whether we ſhall have all, or any of thoſe things for which we have fought, and for which ſo much blood hath been ſhed.

After the way and manner of Addreſs in the Scots Commiſſioners method, followeth the matter thereof, which they divide into three Heads, *viz. Religion, The Intereſt of the Crown, and the Union and Joynt Concernment of both Kingdomes*, which is but an ill Diviſion, if the laſt Branch be not diſtinct from the two former; and if it be, their Diviſion in the beginning of their Paper, between *the things of common and particular concernment to the Kingdoms* was ill made, or their promiſe not to extend themſelves beyond their line is ill kept: Why doe they not leave Religion, ſo far as it is of diſtinct Concernment to this Kingdome, to the Houſes of Parliament? And why doe they not leave THAT Intereſt of the Crown, which is for the good of neither Kingdome, but would induce their Ruine or Thraldom, to the King or His Commiſſioners? But ſince we muſt follow them in their digreſſions, We will begin where they doe, with their Exceptions in matters concerning Religion.

To the firſt Exception of the Scotiſh Commiſſioners concerning Religion, *That Religion which ought to have the firſt place* (*being*, as they ſay, *the* Primum quærite, *and the* Unum neceſſarium) *is ranked amongſt the laſt of the new Propoſitions.*

We ſay, That the precious Goſpel, and Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, is indeed that Pearl, the *Primum quærite*, and the *Unum neceſſarium*, whereof the Scripture ſpeaketh, and rightly challengeth the firſt, and higheſt place in the thoughts, words, and reſolutions of all good Chriſtians, but it doth not follow from thence, that thoſe Evangelical Councels are applicable to every thing which the Scotiſh Commiſſioners ſhall call *Religion*, and what they here call *Religion*, and which they are ſo much ſcandalized at to finde it amongſt the laſt of the New Propoſitions (as by reference to the Propoſition it ſelf may appear) is nothing but concerning the ſeeding by Law, Church-Government in a Presbyterial way, which is ſo far from

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being the *Primum quæsitu*, and the *Unum necessarium*, whereof the Scripture speaketh, that we could never yet finde that it is made necessary be any *Divine Right*. And Religion it selfe, though first in Intention, may be last in Execution, it being necessary first to lay foundations of Safety, that by that meanes we may after attaine to a further end, which we preferre before Safety it selfe; As a Master of a Ship having espyed a Leak in it, though he have persons and Merchandize in it far more precious, and of greater value than the Vessell it selfe, yet will he apply himselfe before all other things to stop the Leake in the Ship, because that in order is first to be done, even for the preservation of all that is in the Vessell, though much more precious then the Vessell it selfe: And this was the way we took in sending those foure Bills to the King, which we desired might be first passed in order to a Treaty, both upon matters of Religion and other things: But the Scotish Commissioners, as if they looked more at Forme and Order then at the thing it selfe, seeme rather to approve of what the King did in His Message from *Garlebrook* castle, because he began with that they call Religion, though the first thing He began with, is a peremptory Deniall of what they account most Religious in it, (*viz.*) The abolishing Archbishops, Bishops, &c. Then what the Parliament did in the demanding of the abolition of them, because they did not set it in the first place of their Paper, which was in truth by accident; For that Proposition being of greater difficulty, and taking up more Debate then the rest, it hapned to be longer before it was dispatched, and so took its order according to the time it was perfected. Therefore this Exception against the order of placing of it, is rather a Cavil then any just ground of their surmise that either there was any error in those to whom the reviewing of the Propositions was committed, or much lesse that the Houses of Parliament have fallen away from their first zeale.

To that Exception concerning *the leaving out of the solemn League and Covenant out of the last Propositions*; The answer is, that as before it was requisite to shew what the Scotish Commissioners meant by Religion, so now also in the first place it is to be observed, what they meane by leaving out the solemn League and Covenant; which being well observ'd, will cleare throughout the Fallacy concerning the Covenant, whereby the mindes of well meaning men, and zealous of the Covenant which they have taken may be abused, as if there were an intention in the Houses to recede from their Covenant, or to breake their faith so solemnly sworn to God and man, which they abhorre the thought of. That then which is here meant by leaving the Covenant out of the Propositions, is, *The leaving out of that Proposition concerning the Kings taking the Covenant himselfe, an assenting to an Act of Parliament to inforce all the Subjects of both Kingdoms to take the same, and to confirme the Ordinances concerning the manner of taking the same in both Kingdomes, with such penalties as by mutuall Advice of both Kingdomes shall be agreed upon.* So that by leaving out the Covenant, is not meant the leaving out of the matters contained in the Covenant, which are provided for in the Propositions, but the leaving out of that Proposition concerning the Covenant before mentioned, wherein the joyning of one Kingdome with the other, in determining what penalties shall be imposed upon the other Kingdome, tendeth to the confounding of the particular Jurisdictions of the Kingdomes in their Legislative power respectively. We have now lesse reason also to enjoyne it under penalties to be taken by all persons, before it be cleared from such strange Interpretations,

as of late have been made of it, and by none more ſtrange than by the Authors of theſe Papers, in relation to the intereſt of the Kings Cauſe, and of confounding the intereſts of the Kingdomes reſpectively, whereby ſtumbling blocks are laid before many well minded men, that are, and alwayes have been faithfull in this Cauſe of Religion and Liberties. So that all the Rhetorique uſed in this point to abuſe the minds of well-minded people, and to heighten their Fancies againſt the Houſes of Parliament, might have been ſpared; for admitting (as they ſay) the Covenant to be *as ſolemn a Vow as creatures upon Earth can make to God in Heaven, and the greateſt tye betwixt men on Earth, who offereth up a tittle of it in Sacrifice, or burieth it in the aſhes of Oblivion*, (that we may uſe their owne expreſſions) Except ſuch who think they cannot retaine their Allegiance and Loyalty, without offering up all they have hitherto fought for to the Kings Will and Pleaſure, even what themſelves make the chiefeſt cauſe for which they have fought (*THE COVENANT*) and which they take it ſo hainouſly, that it is left out of the Propoſitions; and yet if the King leave it out of His Grants, it is then (as they term it) but a not coming to the length of our Deſires, for which the King is not to be reſtrained from His, but received notwithſtanding, *In all Honour, Safety, and Freedome, and not by Armes kept up forced thereunto*, though by Armes took up for the ſame, he might be fought with for it? A ſtrange Riddle, if what hath been formerly done and ſworn, and ſealed in blood, be not now raked up in the Aſhes of Oblivion; when it ſhall be alſo deſired, that an Act of Oblivion (termed the bond of Peace) *without any Caution or Limitation*, ſhould be paſſed in both Kingdomes, whereby Delinquents ſhall be ſet upon an even floore with thoſe that have been ingaged againſt them in this cauſe (which we muſt alſo believe to be in purſuance of the fourth Article of the Covenant, which is, for bringing Delinquents to puniſhment) and then by the example of the Earle of *Traquair* (formerly placed by the Scots Commiſſioners, the very firſt in the Liſt of the Delinquents of that Nation, whom they deſired might be excepted from pardon, but of late imployed as a ſpecial Inſtrument to Negotiate with the King in the Iſle of *Wight*) We may eaſily fore-ſee to what purpoſe we have Conquered our Enemies, that the chiefeſt of them may be ſet over us to be our Maſters, and to preſerve our Religion and Liberties, that have done their utmoſt to deſtroy both. Is this the way to fulfill the Covenant, and thereby to obtaine (as they ſay) *the Preſervation and Reformation of Religion, the true honour and happineſſe of the King, the peace and ſafety of the three Kingdomes, and the maintenance and defence of the Laws and publick Liberties of theſe Kingdoms?* Is this the way to perform what both Kingdomes have declared againſt Delinquents in their Declaration of the thirtieth of *January*, One thouſand ſix hundred forty three?

And as for the Clauſe of the *Covenant* quoted at large by the Authors of theſe Papers (*viz*) *That they ſhall not ſuffer themſelves directly, or indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſwaſion, or Terror, to be divided and withdrawn from that bleſſed Union, and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give themſelves to a deteſtable Indifferency or Neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerns the Glory of God, the good of the Kingdomes, and Honour of the King, but ſhall all the dayes of their lives zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein, againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to their power againſt all lets and impediments whatſoever, and that they ſhall doe all this as in the ſight of God.* It con-

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cerns none more to mind it, than those very men that cke it, and if they will compare it with their own Actions and Papers, they need ask none but their own Consciences whether the Covenant shall already be out of date, not onely with those that took it, but also framed and devised it.

Whose Cause doe they plead throughout all these, and many former Papers, but that of the King and his Party? Who are in more probability of *MAKING DEFECTION TO THE CONTRARY PART*, those that made the new Propositions (as they call them) or those that take exception against them, because *they are lesse to the advantage of the Crown than the former*, as if they had been the Kings Commissioners, and not the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotlande* Where is the bringing of Delinquents of the Kings Party to Punishment once remembred, or so much as mentioned in their Papers, although they demand an Act of Oblivion in their behalf? We need not goe further for an Instance than to the very next Clause in their Papers, *wherein they say, the Revisors of the Propositions having exploded the Covenant in all other places, it happily escaped them in the seventh qualification of the fourteenth Proposition, where (they say) it is made a Hook to catch some in the Notion of Delinquency.* Such Favourites are Delinquents now grown with them, that though they are much troubled that such as never were Delinquents, but have happily ventured their lives, and spilt some of their blood in the Cause, may not be brought under the Notion of Deliquency, only for not taking the Covenant (when perhaps they have given them just cause of scruple by their strange glosses and interpretations upon the same) Yet on the other side, they seeme to Brand the Proceedings of the Parliament with Crookednesse, because from such, who were ever Delinquents, and whose Delinquencie (though minced with the Stile of the Notion of Delinquency) is no lesse than high Treason, they require the taking of the Covenant as on condition of the Grace extended unto them, which was free for the Houses to doe, or not to doe, and upon what Conditions they pleased. And it is very strange that the Covenant, which every one knoweth was directly framed, and intended against that Party, should be esteemed *AN HOOK* in relation to them, whereas indeed the Authors of these Papers would make it a *HOOK* to catch many honest men, against whom it was never intended. They are indeed endeavoured to be *HOOKED* into a Notion of Delinquency by the Covenant, as there have been many endeavours by that and other means, to Hook them out of all employment in the Church, State, and Armies, and to Hook in another Nation to be one of the States of this Kingdome, and to have a Negative voice in all things concerning their Government and welfare.

As to that Answer, which some are said to make, *That the Covenant is implyed in the Confirmation of the Treaties.* Let those that made the Answer, answer the Reply. The Houses of Parliament would never have thought it beseeming them to have brought in the Covenant implicitly, and by a side winde, had they held it fit to have inserted that Proposition amongst the rest. And for that which on the bye is observed concerning the Treaty, to avoyd Repetition it shall receive its Answer in its proper place.

As to that Objection, *From the averssesse of the King to the Covenant, so that the desiring to have it confirmed may be a hinderance to peace.*

This Objection being not attributed by them to any other, is most like to have proceeded from their own thoughts, who in these Papers throughout,

seem

ſeem to take the meaſure of their deſires, rather from what may pleaſe the King, than from what may preſerve the Kingdomes. But they ſhall not need much to trouble themſelves to prove that the Houſes of Parliament doe not agree with them, in having that for their maine ſcope, and ayme, to ſatisfie the King, but they conſider rather what is fit for them to aſk, and neceſſarie for the kingdome to have, than what the King was likely to grant. And whereas they wonder the Houſes *ſhould be ſo liberall in the matters of God, and ſo tenacious* (a more civil expreſſion would have better becommed them, ſpeaking of the Houſes of Parliament) *in what concerns themſelves in things civill, which may far better be diſpenced with.*

What are thoſe matters which theſe Commiſſioners call the matters of God? Are they the names *Solemn League and Covenant*, or the things contained in the Solemn League and Covenant? And if ſo, why not one thing as wel as another? Why are not the Priviledges and Authority of Parl. (formerly acquieſced in as the ſureſt pillars and preſervatives of Religion) and why are not the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdome, matters of God, as well as the Government of the Church in ſuch and ſuch a form? Of old the Clergy ſtyled their Temporalities and Poſſeſſions, the Patrimony of Chriſt, and the quarrel between them and the State, the Cauſe of God, and a matter of Religion, although indeed it was a conteſt onely of Power and Dominion, which if it be well looked into, will prove alſo the ſtate of many Queſtions, which goe under the Notion of Religion at this day.

In Anſwer to the ſtrength (as they ſay) of the Objection, they alleadge that the Covenant being for the preſervation and Reformation of Religion, and for the true honour and happineſſe of the King, and his Poſterity, and for the peace and ſafety of his Kingdomes, though the King ſhould deny it, yet they ought to perform their duty. A good Principle if well grounded, and well followed; If they can make it out that it is a duty to aſk it, and after will not think they have done their duty, when they have asked it, though the Kingdome be not the nearer having it, or enjoying the fruits thereof. But the ſtrength indeed, and pinch of the Argument lyeth thus: The Covenant being of high eſteem in both Kingdomes; It is held expedient they ſhould be pleaſed. On the other ſide, the King in no ſort will yield to it, and he muſt not be diſpleaſed. How ſhall this knot be uncyed? The Expedient is, the King muſt in truth be complyed with, and thoſe that have the Covenant in high eſteeme muſt be pleaſed (in plain Engliſh) couzened with a ſeeming endeavour to obtaine it by continually asking what they know they ſhall never have granted, eſpecially asking in ſuch a faſhion, as before hand to let the King know, and publiſh to all the world in Print, that he may chooſe whether he will grant it or no, and that notwithſtanding he ſhall enjoy his Freedome, his Power, his Greatneſſe, his Revenue, and whatever he pleaſe.

They ſay the Heart of the King is in th. hand of God and when he ſhall be convinced that our intentions were, and are pious and loyal in the Covenant, they hope he will be induced to give ſatisfaction therein.

That Argument from the ſecret Counſel, and Almighty power of God, is rather an Argument of a Prayer to God for the King, than of a Propoſition to the King for the Covenant. Neither was this an Argument to the Scottiſh Commiſſioners a little before, to continue in the way of Propoſitions without a Treaty, which they had found hitherto inſucceſſefull. And as to the meanes they pro-

propound to convince the King of the goodneſſe of the Covenant, it would be cold comfort to the poor people of both kingdomes, if they muſt wait for the ſettlement of a Peace, till ſuch a Conviction be wrought that way, and if the ſettlement of the Peace doe not depend thereon, what ſuch haſte of ſending that amongſt the Propoſitions of Peace? But who doth not ſee that the Scottiſh Commiſſioners (whatever they pretend of their deſire to Peace) take the direct courſe to confirm the King in his averſneſſe againſt thoſe things, which are neceſſary for the ſetling of a ſafe, and well-grounded Peace: For had they inſtead of diſſenting from the Houſes of Parliament in their laſt Meſſage to the King in the Iſle of *Wight* (for which they had no good reaſon at all) concurred with them therein, we might have had a better Return from thence than we had, and the Kingdomes might have been in a fairer way of ſettlement than now by the Scots Commiſſioners dividing themſelves from the Houſes of Parliament they ſeeme to be.

In the laſt place, though they would compel all perſons in the three Kingdoms to take the Covenant, yet they are very carefull that there be nothing of Compulſion in the Kings taking of it.

They tell us that they were confident when their Army returned into Scotland, *and left no forces in this Kingdom, that the Army here ſhould inſtantly have been diſbanded, and that now the War is ended, the Subjects muſt not be burdened.*

We wonder that they ſhould not be firſt ſenſible of their own burthen by their forces kept up ſtill in *Scotland* (which we offer not to meddle with) but wee ſhall refeare this alſo to its proper place, leſt by tying our ſelves too ſtrictly to their Method, wee ſhould involve our ſelves in many unneceſſarie Repetitions.

They proceed to tell us, *That if* Scotland *had apprehended, that the leaſt injury or violence would have been committed againſt his Majeſties Royal Perſon, or Monarchical Government, nay, if they had not received an Aſſurance from the Houſes to the contrary, certainly all the threatnings, and allurements in the world could never have perſwaded them to have parted with the King till all Armies had been diſbanded, and the Peace of the Kingdomes ſetled, and that it was their brotherly confidence in the Houſes (who are their fellow Subjects) and the aſſurance they had from them, that made them leave the King with them.* And then they goe on to direct us how to performe our duty to the King, and our truſt to them.

We ſuppoſed that the Kingdome of *Scotland* had been ſatisfied concerning our right in the diſpoſing of the Perſon of the King, and that thereupon the Perſon of the King had been left to the diſpoſition of the Houſes of Parliament, and not as if upon ſuppoſition that we might abuſe our Rights, or that the Army, contrary to our wills might abuſe both them, and us, the Kingdom of *Scotland* might have juſt cauſe to diſpoſe of our Rights at their pleaſure; and for any particular aſſurances which the Scots Commiſſioners referre to, they had none from the Houſes of Parliament, they holding it not fit to capitulate for their own Rights.

The next exception which the Scottiſh Commiſſioners take in the matters of Religion, "is the omitting of the Ordinances concerning the calling and ſitting "of the Aſſembly of Divines, and for Reformation of Religion in *England* and "*Ireland*, according to the Covenant, and for ſetling Unity and Uniformity in "matters of Religion, between the Churches of God in both Kingdoms, accor-

" ding to the Covenant, and desiring in place of all, that onely a meer shadow " of Presbyterial Government, and externall form of Discipline without life or " power, and a liberty granted for all sorts of service, and worship of God, and " instead of Uniformity in the Covenant sworn to be endeavoured, a desire to " settle a vast deformity, or multiformity of Heresies and Sects, endangering the " ruin of Religion in both Kingdomes.

We say, that whatsoever the Assembly of Divines had, or should doe by Authority and Command of the Parliament, was sufficiently provided for in the Propositions, together with all others, either Committees, Commissioners, or others, that had acted any thing by Authority of Parliament; but for the desiring a standing Law for the sitting of the Assembly of Divines, now that they have well near done their work, for which they were called, was not needfull, unlesse they had been called to sit perpetually, which sure they were not; and such of them as by reason of this service are absent from their charges, do desire to return thereunto, to settle them against such Errours as the Evil-man, during their absence, hath endeavoured to sow amongst them. As for the other two Propositions, they are both of them disjunctive, that is, what the Houses had, or should agree upon in those matters, and for the former part of the disjunctive, they did desire a Confirmation of such Ordinances, as they had already agreed upon, and for other things they did not think it fit, having not yet agreed upon themselves. In some of their former Papers the Scots Commissioners argue against the sending of such a general Proposition, referring onely to what the Houses and Kingdoms should agree upon, and that the King might consider and grant what is offered unto him with the clearer knowledge, they say, " It is very necessary to proceed " distinctly and assuredly, not onely in other Propositions (which are framed as " particularly as may be) but also, and especially in the matter of Religion, and " that this was the course approved and observed at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, where " so much as was at that time prepared for setling Religion was presented. And in their Paper of the sixth of *April*, 1646. they say, " That they could not finde " any ground to satisfie their reason for sending a general Proposition of Religion " to the King.

As to the Proposition desired by the Houses, instead of all these, which they term *only a shadow of Presbyterial Government, and an external form of Discipline without life and power.*

We grant, that an external form of Discipline without the life and power of godlinesse is not much worth; but sure this is not the life and power here meant, but the power of punishments and censures Ecclesiastical (as they terme them) and Civil; whereof the former are challenged by some in the right of Christ, to be placed in the Presbyterie without any *dependency upon, or limitation from the Magistrate*; and for the later, the execution is indeed allowed to the Magistrate, or rather required from him to second the former *implicitely and of course*, but we have through the mercy of God, got so farre out of the darknesse of those Popish and Prelatical Principles, as not to revive them under any image or shape whatsoever.

For the liberty, which is said to be granted *to all sorts of Service and Worship of God.*

If by a Liberty of all sorts of service and worship of God is meant such a liberty *as opens a door to Atheism and to all Religions, and to all kinds of licentiousnesse*

and

and to a vaſt deformity and multiformity of Intereſts and Sects which may produce the ruin of Religion in both Kingdoms.

We deny that any ſuch Toleration hath been, or ſhall be granted by us, and we are glad, that the Argument is now brought to a particular, whereby laying the line to the rule, the truth and falſhood, the fairneſſe and foulneſſe of the aſſertion may be clearly evinced: And if the Scots Commiſſioners would have dealt candidly and ingenuouſly in this matter, they would have ſet down the particulars of this Propoſition, with all the proviſions and limitations therein, which had they done, the world would have been able to judge, whether the conſequences and inferences which they draw from it, have any colour of truth or reaſon, but what they have omitted we ſhall ſupply.

We come to their particular Exceptions againſt the Propoſition which followeth.

"That the King be deſired to give his conſent to ſuch Act, or Acts of Parliament, as ſhall be preſented unto him for the ſettling of the Presbyterian Government and Directory in *England* and *Ireland*, according to ſuch Ordinances as have already ſince the ſitting of this Parliament paſt both Houſes, and are herewithall ſent, which Act, or Acts, are to ſtand in force to the end of the next Seſſion of Parliament, after the end of this preſent Seſſion.

"That no perſons whatſoever ſhall be lyable to any queſtion or penalty for Non-conformity to the form of Government, and Divine Service appointed in the ſaid Ordinances: And that all ſuch perſons as ſhall not conform to the ſaid form of Government and Divine Service ſhall have liberty to meet for the Service and Worſhip of God, and for the Exerciſe of Religious Duties and Ordinances, in any fit and convenient places, ſo as nothing be done by them to the diſturbance of the peace of the Kingdom.

"That all Tythes, or other maintenance, appertaining to any Church or Chappel, which doe now belong to the Miniſters of ſuch Churches, or Chappels, ſhall be applyed to the uſe and benefit of ſuch Miniſters as doe conform to the Government ſetled in the ſaid Ordinances, and to none other, unleſſe it be by the conſent of the preſent Incumbent.

"That nothing in this Proviſion ſhall extend to any Toleration of the Popiſh Religion, nor to exempt any Popiſh Recuſants from any penalties impoſed upon them, for the exerciſe of the ſame.

"That this Indulgence ſhall not extend to tolerate the printing, publiſhing, or preaching of any thing contrary to the Principles of Chriſtian Religion, as they are contained in the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Articles of the Church of *England*, according to the true ſenſe and meaning of them, and as they have been cleared and vindicated by the Aſſembly of Divines now ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, nor of any thing contrary to thoſe Points of Faith, for the ignorance whereof men are to be kept from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, as they were contained in the Rules and Directions, for that purpoſe paſſed both Houſes the 20. of *October* 1645.

"That it be alſo provided that this Indulgence ſhall not extend to exempt any perſon or perſons from any penalty by Law impoſed, or to be impoſed upon them for abſenting themſelves upon the Lords Day from hearing the Word of God, unleſſe they can ſhew reaſonable cauſe of their abſence, or that they were preſent elſwhere to hear the Word of God preached or expounded unto them, ſo as the ſaid preaching and expounding be not by any Miniſter ſequeſtred and not reſtored.

" That this Indulgence ſhall not extend to tolerate the uſe of the Booke of " Common Prayer, in any place whatſoever.

" That liberty ſhall be given to all Miniſters of the Goſpell, though they can- " not conforme to the preſent Government in all things, being not under Se- " queſtration, nor ſequeſtrable, to preach any Lecture, or Lectures, in any " Church or Chappell where they ſhall be deſired by the Inhabitants thereof; " provided, that it be not at ſuch houres as the Miniſter of the ſaid Pariſh doth " ordinarily preach himſelfe, and ſhall receive ſuch meanes and maintenance as " doth or ſhall thereunto appertaine.

As to the firſt Exception, which would make it an abſurdity for the Houſes of Parliament *to deſire a Law for eſtabliſhing Presbyterian Government, and yet in the ſame Act, to deſire that none ſhould obey that Law, but thoſe that pleaſed ſo to doe.* Indeed as they ſtate the Propoſition it may looke a little abſurdly, but herein they miſtake it. The Propoſition doth not deſire a diſpenſation for any man to diſobey the Law, but the Law doth allow a Diſpenſation for any man from being ſubject to the Presbyterian Government, which doth not voluntarily ſubmit himſelfe thereunto; But where the Law doth require obedience, it ſhall not be at any mans pleaſure to diſobey it.

As for example. The exerciſe of that forme of Government being warranted and countenanced by Law, it ſhall not be free for any to moleſt, trouble or oppoſe thoſe that exerciſe the ſame; Againe, had not this Law been made, none could have been compelled to let thoſe of the Presbyteriall way have the uſe of their Churches and Chappells, or to have paid their Tythes and other dues to their Miniſters, whereunto by that Law they would be obliged, and wherein it would not be at their pleaſure to obey or diſobey. In like manner if an Act of Parliament ſhould be made for a voluntary Contribution throughout the Kingdome for Ireland, or for any other uſe, is this therefore an abſurd Act, becauſe none is compelled to give but he that pleaſeth? ſo if a Law ſhould be made for the founding of any Schoole, Colledge, or Univerſity, with the grant of certain Stipends, Salaries and priviledges, is this an abſurd Law, becauſe none is forced to ſend his ſonne to ſuch a Schoole, Colledge or Univerſity, but he that pleaſeth?

What hath been already ſaid affords a ſufficient Anſwer to the ſecond exception, *that whatſoever is pretended concerning the Presbyteriall Government, yet what is deſired amounts to no more than a Toleration of it.* Is the owning and countenancing of it, no more but a Toleration of it? Is the alotting the publike maintenance and places of Worſhip unto it, no more but a Toleration of it?

To the third Exception, whereas they ſay, this Settlement, (which they in ſcorne terme Toleration of Presbyteriall Government) *is many wayes limitted, as firſt in time, being onely to endure till the end of the next Seſſions of Parliament, which happily may be within ſix moneths.*

We ſay, that no Law of that nature introductive of a new way of Government (as that is ſo new to this Kingdome, as it yet had never triall of any ſuch thing) is uſually made any more at firſt than a Probationer till the next Seſſions of Parliament, as thoſe that are verſed in the cuſtome of Parliament proceedings well know. And the Scotch Commiſſioners have the leſſe reaſon to except againſt this courſe in this caſe, becauſe they complaine that the Law is very imperfect (as it yet ſtands) and therefore is not as yet proper to be made perpetuall. As

to the other Exception, *That the Ministers and Elders are appointed by Ordinance of Parliament, to exclude from the Sacrament only such persons as the Houses have thought fit, and no other though it be against their consciences so to doe, and that they are bounded with severall restrictions in their meetings and assemblies, and are not allowed the use and exercise of all the Ordinances appointed by the Word of God, so as that Liberty of Conscience is denyed to them, and granted to others.*

There are indeed that desire an Independent and unlimitted power, which neith r deriveth its beginning, nor receiveth its bounds from the Magistrate, which we cannot admit of. Neither doe we know of any Ordinance appointed by the Word of God, whereof we have denied the exercise to any man. As to that particular, concerning the Sacrament. Have not Magistrates consciences as well as Ministers and Elders? Doe they thinke it unreasonable that the Ministers and Elders should keep them only from the Sacrament, and none others, whom the Houses think fit, though it be against their consciences so to doe, And doe they think it reasonable that the Magistrate should give them Authority to keep whom they think fit from the Sacrament, though it be against his conscience so to doe? As indeed what conscientious man can by an implicite faith give an arbitrary authority to certaine persons to keep whom they think fit from the Sacrament, without any rules given to them therein.

Will they require the countenance and authority of the Magistrate, and will they not allow of his rules and directions? Will they have him to censure and condemn (or others by his authority, which amounteth to as much) and will they not allow him to know and judge? Will they call for his hand to strike, and will they not allow him an eye to see?

But whereas they say, *They are denyed that liberty which is granted to others*, Others have not the countenance, the Authority, the Maintenance of the State for what they doe, as they have, and therefore no wonder if they receive also Rules from the State which others doe not. If they will put themselves into the condition of others, they may enjoy the liberty which they say others doe. But the truth of the matter is, some will needs call and account others Sectaries onely because they conforme not to the judgement of the State in Church-Government, and yet themselves would have liberty to differ as much or more from the sense of the State another way, and have notwithstanding all the countenance and authority of the State, as if they were wholly uniforme in opinion to them. They are not willing to exclude themselves from the Magistrates maintenance, and yet will exclude him from their Government. They will interest the Magistrate in their Actions, and yet doe what they please without him. Now whereas they say, *That all the Sectaries of the time* (as they are pleased to terme them) *have an unlimited Toleration for the time of endurance, matter of worship, and exercise of all Ordinances.* The Proposition it selfe evidently convinceth this to be a calumny; For the indurance of the Indulgence was to be for no longer time than the Establishment of the Presbytery, being intended as a Proviso in the same Act, and so to begin and expire with it, which in the preceding words they complaine, that it is limited to so short a time, and therefore herein they contradict themselves. And so for the matter of Worship and the exercise of Ordinances they are restrained with many provisions, and limitations, against Popery, and against whatsoever may be contrary to the Principles of Religion or Government, as in the particulars (for therein Truth cometh to the cleareſt Teſt) will appeare.

First they inſtance in the *Anabaptiſts*, A name that hath indeed contracted much *Odium* by reaſon of the extravagant opinions and practices of ſome of that name in Germany, tending to the diſturbance of the Government and Peace of all States; which opinions and practices we abhorre and deteſt, and againſt which there is an expreſſe proviſion in the Propoſition, (viz) *That nothing be done to the diſturbance of the Peace of the Kingdome.* But for their opinion againſt the Baptiſme of Infants, It is onely a Difference about a Circumſtance of time in the Adminiſtration of an Ordinance, wherein in former Ages as well as this, learned men have differed both in opinion and practice: And though we could wiſh that all men could ſatisfie themſelves, and joyn with us in our judgement and practice in this point: yet herein we held it fit that men ſhould be convinced by the word of God with gentleneſſe and reaſon, and not beaten out of it by force and violence.

The ſecond ſort they name, are the *Antinomians*; which if it be not a diſpute about words (as it ſeems to be amongſt ſome) and that by Antinomians be meant ſuch as deny any further uſe of the morall Law ſince Chriſt, they are expreſly provided againſt in the ſeventh Article of the Church of England, whereunto reference is made in the Propoſition: The words of the Article are, *Although the Law given from God by* Moſes, *as touching Ceremonies and Rites, doe not binde Chriſtians, nor the civill Precepts given by* Moſes *ſuch as were peculiarly fitted to the Common-wealth of the Jewes, are of neceſſity to be received in any Common-wealth, yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the Commandements which are called Morall, By the Law Morall we underſtand all the ten Commandements taken in their full extent.* By the ſame Article are the *Libertines* provided againſt, betweene whom and the Antinomians they needed no: (we conceive) to have made any diſtinction, as neither betweene the *Brownists* and *Separatiſts*, but that it is thought policy to multiply needleſſly a multitude of names, like ſo many Bug-beares to fright ſimple people withall.

As to the *Arminian*, which follow in the next place, their Errours are provided againſt in the ninth and tenth Articles of the Church of England, The words are, *Although there is no condemnation for them that are Regenerate and doe believe, Yet the Apoſtle doth confeſſe that Concupiſcence and Luſt is truly and properly ſin.* And then in the tenth Article, *The condition of Man after the fall of* Adam *is ſuch, that he cannot turne nor prepare himſelfe by his owne naturall ſtrength and good workes to faith and calling upon God, wherefore we have no power to doe good workes pleaſing and acceptable to God without the Grace of God by Chriſt, both preventing us, that we may have a good will and working ſo effectually in us, as that it determineth our will to that which is good, alſo working with us when we have that will unto good.*

In the next place come the *Familiſts*, by which name we know not whom they meane, if ſuch as hold perfection in this life, and a ſtate void of all ſin, this is in expreſſe words provided againſt in the fifteenth Article of the Church of England, whereof the words are, *Chriſt in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, ſin onely excepted. from which he was clearly void both in his fleſh, and in his ſpirit, he came to be the Lamb without ſpot,, who by Sacrifice of himſelfe once made ſhould take away the ſins of the world, and ſin* (as Saint John ſaith) *was not in him. But all we the reſt, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many things, and if we ſay we have no ſin we deceive our ſelves and the truth is not in us.*

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As to the *Erastians*, when the Scots Commissioners tell us whom they mean by that name, and what their opinions are, we shall know what to say to it.

For the *Brownists*, *Separatists*, and *Independents*, we have heard little of Brownists and Separatists properly so called, since Prelacy and the Liturgy have been taken away, which occasioned them, although they run too far on the other extreame. And for those they call *Independents*, who hold that a particular Congregation is not by the appointment of God authoritatively and coercively dependent upon a Classis Provincial, National, or Oecumenical Assembly, there being many godly, and learned men of known integrity and fidelity to the State, who are of that judgement, we see no reason why an indulgence may not be granted unto them therein.

As to the *Seekers*, if they mean such as deny the use of all Ordinances, the Word, and Sacraments, especial provision is made against them in the rules and directions concerning Suspension from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, in cases of Ignorance, whereunto the Proposition referreth: The words are these; *That Christ and his benefits are applyed onely by Faith, that Faith is the gift of God, and that we have it not of our selves, but it is wrought in us by the Word and Spirit of God. That the Sacraments are Seals of the Covenant of Grace in the Blood of Christ; That the Sacraments of the New Testament are Baptism and the Lords Supper*, &c.

As for the *Shakers*, we know not whom they mean, or what they are.

As to the fifth Exception, *That the Toleration here desired to be established, is of that capacity and latitude, as it may admit of many vile and grosse Errors, which have been condemned and cast out of the Church in former times, and may be revived in* England. It is so generall, that it admits onely a generall Answer, and when they tell us what those *vile and grosse Errors* be, *which have been condemned and cast out of the Church in former times*. We are confident it will appeare that this indulgence is not of that capacity and latitude as to admit of them, as we have already clearely disproved their Assertions in such things as they have particularized in.

For the sixth Exception, that *Toleration is not onely given to the persons of Sectaries* (as they call them) *and their families, but also full liberty is granted to them to set up their professions in any fit and convenient place*. We say, that if we held the liberty granted by us to be unlawfull, we would not grant it to one family, or one person, but holding it to be lawfull, we can no more deny it to many families and persons, than to one.

To the seventh Exception, whereas they say, that *though there seem to be a provision against Anti-Trinitarians, Arrians, and Anti-Scripturists; yet they are not made liable to any penalty, and if they were yet in private they have liberty to reason that there is no God, that God, that Christ is an Impostor*, &c. We say, That to declare what punishment offenders of that nature are lyable to by the Laws already made, or what further penalties should be imposed upon them for the same, was not the scope nor work of that Proposition. That which for the present we have to clear, is, That in this Proposition there is no such ground of exception, as certainly there is not; for it is so farre from holding forth any such Toleration, that it expressly provideth against it (*viz.*) in the 1, 2, 5 and 6 Articles of the Church of *England*: And whereas they say, In private men may vent what they list, such may be the manner of reasoning concerning the highest points of Faith,

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for further confirmation of the truth, or to answer tentations, that it may be lawfull so to doe. But if any shall doe it in the manner expressed by the Scots Commissioners, *blaspheming at their pleasure, and seducing others to their opinion*, though it were but to two or three, nay though it were but to one, it is a publishing of their blasphemies and heresies, against which the Articles doe expressly provide.

As to the eighth and last Exception, That *all profane and wicked persons are left at liberty by this Toleration to doe what they please, for that they are not obliged to be subject to any Discipline or Government; and so neither the duties of the first and second Table of the Law of God shall be observed, but all sorts of impiety, and works of darknesse shall abound.* We have and shall provide, that Ecclesiastical Discipline shall not be wanting, so far forth as it may conduce to the restraining of loosnesse and prophanenesse: But do the Scots Commissioners thinke there is no Government, but that which they call Church-Government? or would the Scots Commissioners bring all Civil Jurisdiction under Church-Government? Mens consciences must be mollified and prepared by the powerfull preaching of the Word, before they will be capable subjects of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and till then, there is no other means to restrain them from vice and impiety, but by the power of the Magistrate armed with wholsome Laws to that purpose, and by the powerfull preaching of the Word, which is our hearty desire and endeavour to advance throughout the Kingdome. And whereas they say, that *such as hate the sincere Worship of God in the Church, will have most unlawfull and wicked meetings elsewhere, under a profession of religious Exercises and Ordinances.* Wee know by sad experience, that those that have hated the sincerity and power of Religion in the true professors thereof, have suppressed many holy and godly exercises, and punished many precious Christians, under the pretext of Conventicles: but the Houses of Parliament (who are to be Judges of their own Laws) would have known well enough how to have distinguished between Religious Exercises or Ordinances, and unlawfull and wicked Meetings, though they had not (as they have) provided in their limitations of that Proposition, against any thing, that either by impiety towards God, or disturbance of the publike Peace, might make any Meeting to be justly called wicked, or unlawfull, under what profession or pretext soever. We might adde much more, for the vindication of what we did in that Proposition, but what hath been said, we hope will be sufficient to satisfie every indifferent and impartial man that shall compare the particulars of that Proposition with their Assertions, how groundlesse those aspersions be, which they endeavour to cast upon us for the same.

We come now to the passages cited by the Commissioners of *Scotland* out of our Declarations. For that which they cite out of the Remonstrance of the state of the Kingdome, of the fifteenth of *December*, 1642. wherein the Houses declare, "That they meane not to leave every man to his own judgement and fancie for the service and worship of God, and that it is far from their purpose "and desire to let loose the golden Reins of Discipline and Government in the "Church, to leave private persons or particular Congregations to take up what "kinde of divine Service they please, and hold it requisite that there should be "thorough the whole Realm a Conformity to that order which the Laws enjoyn, *ACCORDING TO THE WORD OF GOD.* It is one thing to leave every man without any Law to his own judgement and fancy in the service

and worship of God, and another thing to give a liberty by Law (as was desired) to some men to doe some things in their owne nature not unlawfull, though different from what is thought fit to be generally setled in the Kingdome. It is one thing to require conformity to a Law already made, *according to the Word of God*, and upon cleare evidence thereof, and another thing to make a Law requiring Conformity from all persons to all things, though not founded upon any cleare evidence of Scripture, or that are onely founded upon Prudentiall grounds, wherein the Magistrate hath the like latitude to dispense and qualifie, as to enjoyn and ordaine. It is one thing, what a State holds fit to declare requisite, yea, and also to countenance and encourage by rewards, and other wayes, and another thing, what it holds fit to compell and force, especially if there shall happen to be many of a contrary opinion. Lastly, as there are *golden veins of Discipline and Government*, so there is also a *golden Mediocrity*. It is one thing to require Conformity to all *substantiall* parts of the Worship of God, which in this Proposition is provided for (as hath been declared;) and it is another thing to require under penalties an exact Conformity to all *Circumstantiates* in Worship; and of this nature onely are the things wherein the Houses have granted a liberty; which had they not done, they had indeed contradicted their severall and constant Declarations, wherein they have promised to have a due care and regard of tender Consciences, who have also so well deserved it at their hands, and have been very faithfull to them in the Common Cause, notwithstanding any diversity in their judgements and opinions.

The next clause they cite out of our Declarations, is out of our Answer to the Lords of His Majesties Secret Councell of *Scotland*, and the Generall Assembly of the Church of that Kingdome, in the yeare 1642, where the scope of their discourse tendeth to shew that the Houses of Parliament declared, that *they hoped (by Gods assistance) so to reforme what was amisse in the Church of England, as to cast out whatsoever is offensive to God, or JUSTLY displeasing to any neighbour-Church; and so farre to agree with our brethren of Scotland and other Reformed Churches, in all SUBSTANTIAL parts of Doctrine, Worship and Discipline, that both we and they may enjoy those advantages and conveniences, which are mentioned by them in this their Answer: And that in pursuance of this Declaration these four yeares past, the labours of many learned and godly Divines thereunto appointed, have been spent in framing a Directory for Worship (which was long since approved and received in both Kingdomes) a Confession of Faith, a Forme of Church-Government and Catechizing; all which have been presented to both Houses, and some progresse was made therein towards the establishing of them, till of late they were laid aside.* We have not of late (as they say) laid them aside more than formerly, but they have been proceeded in as formerly, according as the exigency and condition of affaires would permit: and the Confession of Faith is yet under consideration; and it is long, and of great weight, and requireth serious deliberation.

And when we consider what some Ministers of the Presbyterian judgement, in their Booke subscribed *Smectymnuus*, dedicated to the Parliament 1641, say of the Liturgy then established by Law, that *it was never established to be so punctually observed, so rigorously pressed, to the casting out of all that scruple it, or any thing in it*; we have reason well to consider what we put the stamp of Publike Authority upon; for if this Uniformity in the Directory, Church-Government, Confession of Faith, and Catechise, should produce such a rigid Conformity unto

them, it is not eaſie to foreſee all the miſchiefs and inconveniences that it would beget; although we may eaſily gueſſe they would not be ſmall, by what we have felt in the like kinde.

In the next place, they cite the Ordinance of the Faſt appointed the 10 of *March* laſt, *to ſeeke God for his direction and aſſiſtance for the ſuppreſſing and preventing of the growth and ſpreading of Errours, Hereſies and Blaſphemies.* Whereunto we ſay, that by the words of the Ordinance, thoſe Errors, Hereſies and Blaſphemies are deſcribed to be ſuch as *tend to the ſubverſion of the Faith, contempt of the Miniſtery and Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt*, and no ſuch are deſired or permitted by the Parliament: although it is no: ſo ſtrange as the Scots Commiſſioners would make it, to uſe the weapons of Faſting and Prayer, againſt ſuch things as it is not ſo Chriſtian a way and meanes to uſe force and violence. And whereas in ſcorne they ask *Whether theſe are the wayes and meanes that the Houſes of Parliament have thought upon for the ſuppreſſing Errors, Hereſies and Blaſphemies, to deſire a Toleration of them may be eſtabliſhed by Law.* That the Houſes of Parliament deſire a Toleration of Blaſphemies or Hereſies, or of any undoubted Error (we ſay undoubted amongſt godly and learned men,) by what hath been ſaid ſufficiently appeares to be otherwiſe. And here we might returne upon them all their bitter and ſharpe expreſſions, but we forbeare, as we have done purpoſely in many other parts of their Papers. Whereas they proceed and ask whether a Toleration ſhall be granted to all ſuch as by *their pernicious doctrines and actions offer violence to the Kings Perſon and Authority, and againſt the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament and in a high degree violate every Article of the Solemn League and Covenant.* We ſay, That neither to all ſuch nor to any ſuch is a Toleration deſired. But who doe more undermine the ſecurity of the Kings Perſon and Authority, then thoſe that hinder a happy Settlement betweene him and his people, by a cauſleſſe diſſenting from the Houſes of Parliament in thoſe few neceſſary things deſired by them as previous to a Treaty upon the reſt, and that boulſter him up in counſells and reſolutions, ſo apparently deſtructive to Himſelfe, his Authority, and Poſterity? Who ſo highly have invaded and violated the Priviledges of Parliament in the caſes of particular Members thereof (as was done by *Cheiſley, Baily, Bucanan*, and others) and of the Houſes themſelves, as the Scots Commiſſioners in their papers and practices, not onely intruding themſelves into the Legiſlative power of this Kingdome, but taking upon them to give Lawes thereunto; So that there is not one Article of the Solemn League and Covenant which hath not been violated by them under colour of keeping one, and that miſ-interpreted and miſ-applyed too. They goe on and ſay that *the Oppoſing the Covenant and Reformation of Religion, the dividing betweene the King and his people, or making any faction amongſt the People, contrary to this League and Covenant, were formerly the characters of our enemies, and whoſoever maintaine and doe theſe things, though they ſhould aſſume to themſelves the name of Saints, are ſtill to be accounted Incendiaries, Malignants and Evill Inſtruments.* And we ſay ſo too, But to whom doth the Character more fitly and fully agree then to ſuch as under the name of the Covenant indeed oppoſe the Covenant? And who ſo viſibly divide between the King and his people, as the Scotiſh Commiſſioners by their proceedings in the Iſle of *Wight*, and by their printing and publiſhing ſuch papers as theſe for making Factions amongſt the people contrary to the League and Covenant? And who that hath halfe an eye doth not ſee how neer of kin their

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late Papers and Desires are to those of the late traiterous *Ingagers* in the City of *London*; The *tumultuous Rabble* at the Parliament-doore on the 26. of *July* last, and to the late answers of the King, whereunto their Papers and Desires are far more suitable than to their owne former Principles and Propositions. Hereof we have an Example and Evidence in their Paper of the first of *August*, 1647. during the absence of the Speakers, and divers Members of both Houses by reason of the aforementioned Tumult and force upon the Parliament the 26. of *July*, in the close of which Paper, suitable to the desires of their forerunners, *the ingagers and tumultuous Company* before mentioned, They desire the King might be invited to *London* in these words. *And to the end that there may be a free and unrestrained Application to His Majesty from the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, We doe earnestly desire the Honourable Houses to invite His Majesty to come to* London, *and to declare that he shall be here in Safety, Honour and Freedome, than which we see no other probable meane for the present, to obtaine a safe and well-grounded Peace.*

As to the Protestation of the Commissioners of *Scotland* against our Toleration (as they call it) if we shall adhere thereunto, we must needs say, That this is the highest verbal invasion of our undoubted Rights, and the loudest alarm to a breach between the two Kingdomes (which God forbid) that can be. And we alwayes have and shall avow, That neither the Commissioners of *Scotland*, nor any Kingdome, or State, hath any thing to doe to assent, or dissent; attest, or protest, concerning any thing we shall thinke fit to establish in this Kingdome for the government either of Church or State.

And here the Commissioners of *Scotland* might have spared their *astonishment and the motion of their bowels*, till by their rigid Conformity they had seen the poore Members of Christ cast into prison, or cast out of their Estates and Countries, and till they see (if God prevent it not) the bitter fruits and sad consequences of their late proceedings in the Isle of *Wight*, by the continuance and renewing of the Calamities of the three Kingdomes. And now as the Commissioners of *Scotland* do obtest us, we obtest our Brethren of *Scotland* by the Solemn League and Covenant, and by all Promises, Professions and Declarations whereupon we were induced to use the Conjunction and Assistance of that Kingdome in this Cause, that they would not suffer their Commissioners to make any other use of that Conjunction than for the ends for which it was intended, and that they would leave us to judge upon earth concerning the Ordering of matters both in Church and State here in this Kingdome, according to our undoubted and fundamentall Rights, and we shall not be afraid to give an account at the great Day of Judgement (whereunto the *Scots* Commissioners summon us) that we have been more forward to set Christ at liberty, than to cast him into prison; it being better in our opinion (where the case is not very cleare) to leave God to deale against many Errours, than to use Gods authority for the suppression of one Truth. And we are confident that no indifferent person who rightly balanceth the reasons of the Indulgence which was desired by us, but will judge the assertion of the Commissioners of *Scotland*, in terming it to be an *impious Toleration*, to be an uncharitable calumny, and that the impiety lieth onely in their owne conceits and unchristian apprehensions, and aspersions of our lawfull and necessary resolutions therein, from which if any Rent (which they speak of, and which God forbid) should arise between the two Kingdomes united by so many Tyes, and Relations, the world must needs judge the Commissioners of

Scotland to have been the chief cauſes and promoters, that have procured the ſame.

And now the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners come to their arguments for the Crowne and Intereſt of the King.

They ſay, *We are obliged by our Covenant, Allegiance and the duty of Subjects, not to diminiſh, but ſupport the Kings juſt power and greatneſſe.* And is not the King by his Oath at his Coronation and the duty of his place, obliged not to diminiſh the juſt Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subjects? Hath he not done it? why then have they joyned with us to fight againſt him? Hath he done it? how then ſhall he that breaks downe the hedge complaine of incroachment upon his Several, as if he could have laid one ſide without laying both open? As for their diſcourſe concerning Monarchy in generall, and *the practice of all Kingdomes*, If they will rightly declare the practice of their owne Kingdome, it will anſwer their owne arguments. It is well knowne what hath been, and is ſtill practiſed in *Scotland*, and alſo in *England*, in relation to the Legiſlative power, and the exerciſe of the *Militia* without and againſt the Kings conſent, and that the Kingdome of *Scotland* engaged with us in this Warre, upon theſe Principles, and ſome of theſe Commiſſioners were amongſt the forwardeſt to ingage the Kingdomes in a joynt War thereupon, and in Oaths and Covenants to be impoſed upon both Kingdomes, and in taxes to raiſe Money upon them, and in taking away the Book of Common-prayer, and eſtabliſhing the Directory in the ſtead thereof, and in divers other things wherein the higheſt Exerciſe of the Legiſlative Power doth conſiſt: and yet now (without reſervation of any Caſe) this is Declared by them *to be that which in the Eyes of all the world will be interpreted a wreſting both Sword and Scepter out of the Kings hands: And his Concurrence in the making of Lawes is ſaid to be of the eſſence and being of all Kings: And the taking away of his Negative voice, is contrary to the conſtant practice of this and all other Kingdomes.* As to thoſe formes from whence they draw their Arguments, becauſe the Lawes are ſometimes called *the Kings Lawes*: and Acts of Parliament begin ſometimes with the word *Conteſſimus*, or *Statuit Rex*, or the like: They can no more conclude the neceſſity of the Kings Conſent from thence, than of his Conſent to all Writs that iſſue out of Inferiour Courts, becauſe they are called the *Kings Writs*, and becauſe they begin, *Carolus Dei gratia, &c.* From whence it will follow by their argument, that no Law or Juſtice can be adminiſtred within this Kingdome, but according to the Kings owne will and pleaſure. And for their other argument, "That ſometimes the Kings denying to give his aſſent to "a Law, may be for the good of Religion and the Kingdome; and that being "King of ſeverall Nations, he may hinder them from injuring one another, and "protect the Subjects from injury amongſt themſelves.

We anſwer, ſuch a thing may happen ſometimes, but rare caſes are ill foundations of principles in politique Conſtitutions. It is much more likely that a King ſhould be miſtaken, than the great Councell of the Kingdome, and that a King ſhould ſtop that which is for the good of the whole Kingdome, than that the whole Kingdome Repreſented in Parliament, ſhould deſire what would be for their owne hurt, and it is much more likely that a King ſhould make uſe of one of his Kingdomes to oppreſſe the other, and ſet one part of his Subjects againſt the other, that he might make himſelf abſolute over them all, than that he ſhould hinder one Kingdome to wrong the other, or all the Subjects of a Kingdome to wrong them-

themſelves; the examples of the later are rare, if any at all, but thoſe of the former ſort are ſtill freſh and bleeding, and though the Scotch Commiſſioners ſhould, the Kingdom of *Scotland* certainly cannot forget, what endeavours there hath been of late years to engage now one, now the other Kingdom, the one againſt the other, and to divide the Subjects of both Kingdomes within themſelves, that all of them might be reduced into a condition of abſolute ſlavery.

As to that which they cite out of our Declarations concerning the Kings Negative voyce, which they hold forth as contrary to what we have declared in the Preface of the laſt Propoſitions: If they compare the one with the other again, they will find no ſuch great Difference between them: The ſingle difference is, that formerly we declared, It was the Duty of the King to paſſe all ſuch Laws preſented unto him by both Houſes, as were for the good of the Kingdome; And that ſuch a ſuppoſition could not fall upon a Parliament, as if they would offer any other than ſuch as were reaſonable and juſt. And in this Preface we declare, That it is the Kings duty to paſſe all ſuch Laws as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall judge good for the Kingdome, upon a ſuppoſition that they are good, which by them are judged ſuch: And who can ſuppoſe that thoſe Laws ſhould not be good for the Kingdome, which the Parliament judge to be for their good, though the King in his private capacity ſhould judge them otherwiſe. But when the Scotch Commiſſioners ſay, *That the power in making Laws cannot be taken away from the King, and he required to aſſent to all ſuch Laws as the Houſes ſhall think fit*; They doe in great part diſcover the inconſiſtency of their own Diſcourſe; for the declaring it to be the duty of the King to paſſe ſuch Laws, doth not deny, but rather affirm his power, which in an ordinary way of proceeding was never denyed; Yet where he either cannot, or will not doe his duty, and that the Kingdom is in danger thereby, the Houſes of Parliament muſt ſupply, and the Subjects are bound to obey; which the Kingdome of *Scotland*, as well as we have conſtantly both declared, and practiſed, and have engaged with us in this Warre upon that principle and practice. Yea, and the Scotch Commiſſioners themſelves have admitted it formerly, as in their Paper containing reaſons touching the Militia; Whereunto their reaſons for the King to have a ſhare together with the two Houſes of Parliament, in the Militia, they premiſe as followeth. *That they doe not ſpeak of extraordinary caſes, and extream dangers of the Kingdom, when ordinary remedies are refuſed, as in the time and caſe of this War, wherein a Parliament ſhould provide for the ſafety of the Kingdom.*

As to the Militia, although that be the Foundation of Security to us and our Poſterity, and was the principal immediate ground of our quarrel, in Order to the preſervation of Religion, and the Juſt rights and liberties of the people, and that the Scotch Commiſſioners have often agreed with us in it; and the Kingdom of *Scotland* fought together with us for it, and upon the ground thereof: Yet now they argue againſt our enjoying of it, as contrary to the Covenant, and Oath of Allegiance.

They take upon them to be Judges of our Security, and Declare, That they think what the King offers in His Meſſage from *Carisbrook-Caſtle* ſhould be very ſatisfactory; and yet after will not let us enjoy ſo much quietly neither, but wee muſt preſently lay down all our Armes, that we may ſoon after expoſe our ſelves, and all the good people of the Kingdome that have adhered to this Cauſe, to manifeſt ruin and ſlaughter. Have we fought all this while with the King for the Mi-

litia, to ſubject it to the arbitrement of the Scots Commiſſioners? And here how doe they contradict themſelves? They ſay now, it is contrary *to their Judgements, and Oath of Allegiance, to Deveſt the Crown, and the King, and his Poſterity of the Right and Power of the Militia, and fortifie their Opinion with the very ſame arguments*, and almoſt in the very ſame words as the King did at the beginning of this War in his Declarations: And yet they know that both Kingdomes agreed to the Propoſitions ſent to *Oxford*, which were after treated on at *Uxbridge*, wherein the King, and his Poſterity are wholly Deveſted of this power, and the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms inveſted in it. Was it no right of the King and his Poſterity, nor breach of their Oath of Allegiance when it was to be inveſted in the Commiſſioners of both Kingdomes; and is it now that the Militia of *England* is to be inveſted in both Houſes of Parliament? They know alſo that the Militia being diſtinctly and ſeverally to be exerciſed by each Kingdome, they conſented to it, as it now ſtands, when the Propoſitions were ſent to *Newcaſtle*; and after ſaid, That it was an unſpeakable grief to them, that the King would not grant the ſame. Did not the Lord Chancellor preſſe the King in ſuch manner, and with ſuch Arguments as have been before mentioned out of his ſpeech to the King at *Newcaſtle*, to paſſe the Propoſitions ſent to him there; And was not this of the Militia one of them? Did not theſe Commiſſioners themſelves in their Anſwer to the Votes of the Houſes of the 24. of *September*, Concerning the diſpoſing of his Majeſties perſon, offer, *That if the Houſes would once again ſend Commiſſioners to his Majeſty in name of both Kingdomes with power to hear his Deſires, and to endeavour the ſatisfaction of Doubts and Scruples* (without mentioning any power to recede from any thing) *they ſhould have power to intimate alſo*, THAT IF HIS MAJESTY SHOULD NOT GIVE SATISFACTION IN THE PROPOSITIONS (whereof this of the Militia was one, and a Chief one) *both Kingdoms will without any more ſuch applications Conſults and joynly reſolve upon other wayes of their Safety and Security.*

To help themſelves they have recourſe *to their verbal expreſſions at debates, and in their writings touching their diſaffection concerning ſeveral particulars contained in thoſe propoſitions, and talke of a Proviſo to their conſents unto the Militia, and that it ſhould be without prejudice to the right and intereſt of the Crown.*

Was there any ſuch proviſion in the propoſitions? Did the Houſes of Parliament conſent to any of thoſe expreſſions which they ſpeak of, either verball, or other? Did they not finally agree unto the Houſes that the Propoſitions ſhould goe in thoſe terms they did? Doe they not grant in their Paper concerning the Militia before cited, as much concerning the Militia as was now asked? How can the *Scots* Commiſſioners in ſo clear a matter as this is, ſhelter themſelves under the Fig-leaves of verball expreſſions and diſcourſes of things which themſelves departed from? And although we hold it out of ſeaſon to renew the diſpute concerning the Militia, which hath been ſo long and ſadly debated, both in black and red letters, God himſelf giving his verdict on our ſides; yet ſhall we offer to the conſideration of all Engliſh men, that however they may pleaſe themſelves with their *Magna Charta*, and with their Courts of Juſtice, and with their High Court of Parliament, and that their lives, liberties, and eſtates, are not at the will of one man, and that the King cannot make Laws, nor raiſe monies upon them without their conſents in Parliaments, and that all offenders againſt their Laws and Liberties, may be brought to Juſtice in ſome Court or other, or at leaſt in

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the High Court of Parliament; all this ſignifies nothing, if the Militia by *Sea* and *Land* be in one man, they are abſolute ſlaves, and by ſo much in a worſe condition, becauſe thinking themſelves to have liberty, that conceit becomes a ſnare to them. How ridiculous are thoſe Laws which may be violated by force, and by force ſhall not be defended? What a mock authority is that of the Courts of Juſtice, and of the High Court of Parliament it ſelf, if it be not accompanied with the power of the Sword, when by the power of the Sword it ſhall be oppoſed, affronted, reſiſted, their ſummons ſcorned, their Meſſengers kickt about the ſtreets, and their votes and judgements derided? Surely thoſe people have but an imaginary freedome whoſe freedome hath no other than Paper, or Parchment walls at the beſt to defend it. And for that conceipt of dividing the power of the ſword between the King and the Kingdom, without exception of caſes of danger, what is it elſe but to give a King power, though not to doe it himſelfe, yet to hold them whilſt others by his ſecret procurement may cut their throats, if under hand he can work a party within the King'om, or of forraigners (as King *John* did) to help him to oppreſſe his ſubjects, and to ſpoyl them of all their rights and liberties, and as this King did deſign by *German* forces, and with fair and colourable pretences hinder them to make preparations for reſiſtance, till it be too late to goe about it. If there be a true intention to leave unto the people their known Rights, that no Law be made, or mony levyed to maintain the Militia without their conſent in Parliament, it cannot enable him to doe the Kingdom effectually any good ALONE, but may ſerve to make him capable ALONE to doe them hurt.

The *Scots* Commiſſioners promiſed us in the beginning of their Paper, *that they would not exund themſelves beyond their line, the expreſſe conditions of the Covenant and Treaty.* Under what part of their line doth the ordering of our Forces and Army here in *England* fall? by what condition of the Covenant or Treaty (wherein every one is bound to act *only in his owne place and vocation*) are they authoriſed to tell us when we ſhall disband our Army, and what and how many Forces we ſhall keep up here in *England*. They ſay we muſt not keep up Forces to enſlave the King: But when our Forces are all layd down, who ſhall aſſure us that the King, and his party, ſhall not raiſe Forces to burthen or enſlave the Kingdome? They ſay, *when their Army returned into Scotland, it was confidently expected that the Houſes ſhould ſpeedily have disbanded their Army.* It may be it was expected that this Army under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſhould have been disbanded, but it was as much expected and reſolved, that very near as many Forces of ſuch as they liked ſhould be kept up, and yet the burthen would have been the ſame upon the Kingdome. We preſume, that they who ſeem to be ſo ſenſible of the Burthen of this Kingdome by maintaining their Forces, will not by their miſrepreſentations endeavour to bring in an Army from *Scotland* to make them bear double, and if they doe not create us new troubles, we ſhall the better be able to reduce our charge, and disband ſo many of our Forces as may conſiſt with our ſafety, without a Propoſition to the King as we raiſed them without any Propoſition to him. And yet in our laſt Bill for the Militia, the power of diſbanding all Forces as well as raiſing of them was expreſly provided for, when the Houſes of Parliament ſhould thinke it ſafe and fit ſo to doe, but not at the pleaſure of the *Scots* Commiſſioners. *They ſay, Armies were raiſed for defence of Religion, the Kings Perſon and Authority, the Priviledge of Parliament, and Liberty of the*

the Subject. And when they are no more uſefull for theſe ends, and the Houſes may conſult freely and act ſecurely without any hoſtile oppoſition, it is high time to diſband them, that the Laws of the Kingdome may take place. Here we cannot but obſerve, That (as uſually they doe) when they ſpeak of the defence of the Kings Perſon and Authority, they omit that clauſe in the Covenant, IN THE PRESERVATION OF THE TRUE RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF THE KINGDOMES. Which of thoſe other ends are yet attained? They ſay Religion was never more in danger; We ſay priviledge of Parliament, and the liberty of the Subject were never more in danger, and the Proteſtant Religion too. And for the Parliaments *Conſulting freely and acting ſecurely*, (that we may ſtill ſo doe, it will be neceſſary (as we have ever done ſince the Warre) to keep up Forces, which they all disbanded, as they deſire, we ſhould not long conſult freely, and act ſecurely; But what with the like tumultuous Rabble that forced the Parliament on the 26. of *July* laſt, and the late Trayterous engagers, and leviers of a new Warre in the City of *London* on the other ſide: And what with theſe called *Levellers* on the other ſide, (who would ſubvert the preſent government and introduce Anarchy and Confuſion) it is evident that no law of the Kingdome could take place, or Court of Juſtice have its free courſe. But we hope no Engliſhman will thinke the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* more tender of the eaſe aad liberties of the people of *England* than a Parliament of *England*, which we (having alſo our ſhares therein) ſhall tender as and above our lives, and have ſo done in all this long and bloody Warre. And we hope every wiſe man will conſider, that it is better to be at a little coſt and trouble for a while, to make ſure work, than by over-haſty throwing down our burthens, pluck upon our ſelves new troubles, and greater burthens, and dangers, than ever we have endured heretofore; of which the Prince of *Orange*, *Count William of Naſſaw* ſtill complained in the beginning of the Warres in the Netherlands, that ſo ſoon as they had any ſucceſſe, and were free from a viſible enemy in any province, the people would ſtill be earneſt to be rid of their Souldiers, alledging that they could keep their Cities and Provinces themſelves; whereby they were expoſed to the treachery and practices of their enemies, and to many deſperate after-claps, Maſſacres and Butcheries,

Touching the conferring of titles of Honour, we wonder how that flower of the Crowne (as they terme it) is growne ſo great, and ſo ſweet to them, ſince the ſending of the laſt Propoſitions, wherein it was, and whereunto themſelves agreed; And we wonder that any, who have engaged with the Parliament in this cauſe, ſhould be ſo exreame thirſty to drinke of that fountaine of honour (ſo they ſtile the King) that they could not ſtay till it was clenſed and ſeiled from the mudde wherewith it hath been troubled. We know of no Engliſhman of the Parliaments ſide that hath taſted thereof. But if there were only matter of honour in it, and not alſo of ſafety, it were more tolerable, though it be as the putting out of our right eyes for a perpetuall brand upon us, but hereby our Enemies ſhall be made our Judges and Law-givers; by this meanes the King may make the Lords Houſe what he will, when he will, and fill it with his Friends, as he calleth them. But we deſire the *Scotch* Commiſſioners to keep themſelves within their line, and to meddle as little with our honours, or offices of State, as we ſhall doe with theirs.

And for the alteration of the former Propoſition for the confirmation of the Treaties,

Treaties, wherein they say, *That instead of a confirmation of them, we desire only an approbation of the making of them.* What is desired is sufficient, and the things transacted in those Treaties being for the most part temporary, as concerning the raising, ordering, and paying of the *Scotch* Army, and the like, they are not proper Subjects of a standing and lasting Law.

And whereas they say, *that generally throughout the last Propositions all expressions of joynt interest are left out, and that we have altered the former manner of drawing up the Propositions in one body, and for separating the Interests of the Kingdomes, the Propositions for England are drawne up apart.*

We say, that the Interests of *England*, and also the Covenant led us thereunto, wherein there is no expression at all of *Joynt Interest*, but very often of our severall *places and callings*, as in our often mentioned answer to their Papers of the 20. and their Letters of 24. *October*, 1646. is clearly manifested. And when we saw how the *Scotch* Commissioners desired to confound the particular and respective Interests and Rights of the Kingdomes, and how they desired to interest themselves in the Government, that they might winde themselves, and their Friends, into the profits and advantages of the Kingdome; and when we saw all these encroachments upon our severals, occasioned by our going hand in hand out of friendly confidence, and that in time it might be challenged as a right (as now it is) we thought it was good to alter our course in time, and that it was the best meanes to prevent difference to keep a due distance, although before we sent our Propositions to *Newcastle* in that joynt way of application, we did send a Declaration to the *Scotch* Commissioners, to prevent any such claime of theirs, which being communicated unto them, they never returned any answer, which Declaration is as followeth.

Whereas the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, *in the Name, and on the behalf of the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *And the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland, *in the Name, and on the behalfe of the Kingdome of* Scotland, *have thought fit to send to the King the humble Desires and Propositions for a safe and well-grounded Peace, agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, respectively; The Lords and Commons of the Parliament of* England *doe Declare, That it is not their Intention that any Construction should be made thereupon, as if either Kingdome had any interests in the Matter of each others Propositions, or in the Legislative power of each other, concerning any of the said Propositions, but that it remaineth distinct in each Kingdome respectively: And that notwithstanding any joynt proceedings upon the said Propositions, either Kingdome hath power of themselves to continue, repeal, or alter any Law that shall be made upon the said Propositions for the Good and Government of either Kingdome respectively: And it is hereby Declared, That both Houses are fully resolved to maintaine and preserve inviolably the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Treaties betwixt the Kingdomes of* England *and* Scotland.

For that Clause which is cited out of the Eighth Article of the Treaty, it shall be spoken to in its proper place; although that, and the passages they cite out of our Declaration to the Lords States Generall of the United Provinces of the Low-countries, being cited by them to the same purpose, in their Papers concerning the disposing of the Kings Person, they are fully answered in our Answer to their said Papers before-mentioned, whereunto we refer our selves. But as to the Conclusion wherewith they close their Discourse, *That having formerly Declared, that we could not admit of the mediation of the Dutch Ambassadors for a Peace, without the*

conſent of the Kingdome of Scotland, they are extreamly ſorry that the Houſes of Parliament ſhould not onely have given way, but Countenanced the Army in their meddling with the ſetling of the Peace of the Kingdome, and authorized Commiſſioners to treat with them upon Propoſitions of peace; which (they ſay) *had been more agreeable to the Treaty, and to former profeſſions and proceedings, that they ſhould have been agreed upon with advice and conſent of both Kingdomes: And by the way, they take this to be the reaſon, That thoſe Propoſitions are in many things agreeable to the Propoſals of the Army, eſpecially in Matters of Religion.*

Whereunto we ſay, That they might have ſpared ſeeking after a reaſon for a thing, till the matter of fact had been agreed upon by them. Whoſoever compares thoſe propoſitions with the Propoſals of the Army, and with the former Propoſitions ſent unto *Newcaſtle*, will finde them to agree more with them, even in Matters of Religion, than with the Propoſals of the Army.

But to the maine of their exception: They are exceedingly miſtaken, or are willing the world ſhould be miſtaken, in ſaying, The Houſes of Parliament authoriſed Commiſſioners to Treat with the Army upon Propoſitions of Peace; or that the Army were in the nature of Mediators between the King and the Parliament for Peace, as the Dutch Ambaſſadors would have been; onely the Parliament ſent a Committee to the Army, to underſtand their Deſires, who made their Addreſſes to the Parliament onely, as every Subject may doe, touching ſuch matters which concerned them as Souldiers, or as Subjects of the Kingdome. And ſtill they ſubmitted all to the Parliament. As for any Officers of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, that have taken upon them to offer Propoſalls to the King, for ſetling of peace without authority from the Houſes, we know of none ſuch.

For the Counſell they gave us when we Modelled this army, to make choyce of ſuch Officers onely, as were of their minde, under the Name of Men Zealous of Reformation, and Uniformity in Religion, and to put out of the army all that ſhould ſcruple the Covenant, as they had Paraphraſed and made Gloſſes upon it, which they thinke would have prevented a world of Inconveniences and evils. We are not of their opinion, nor doe we repent us of the Modell we then made; and had we followed the Counſell of theſe Commiſſioners, we might, (to uſe their owne words) have made a Trade of the Warre.

And now when the *Scots* Commiſſioners have done with their Joynt Intereſt, we might well expect there would have been ſome place left for that branch of their Diſtinction, which relateth to ſuch things as properly concerne the Kingdome of *England*. But we muſt not order the Militia, or Government of the City of *London*, nor determine the proportion of recompence for the Court of Wards, or the Forreſts Lands; nor diſpoſe of Deanes and Chapters Lands, but by their advice and conſent: The Kingdome of *England* will get much by being out of Wardſhip to the King, if they ſhall be given in Wardſhip to the Scotch Commiſſioners. Shortly we ſhall not Governe our owne Eſtates or Families, nor buy, nor ſell, without the joynt advice and conſent of the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*. They will next tell us, not onely what we ſhall give to the King for his Revenue, but what he ſhall give to us, and what to them; and what Offices the Engliſh Nation, and what the Scottiſh ſhall have; Neither can we aſſure our ſelves, that they will content themſelves

ſelves with the Thirds of the Offices of the Kingdome, which formerly in ſome of their Papers they did propoſe in theſe words, (Viz.) *Upon the like Cauſes and Grounds we deſire the Honourable Houſes to Concurre with us in a Deſire to his Majeſty, That in all places of Truſt, and Offices about the King, Queene, and Prince, and the reſt of his Royall Children, the Equall halfe, or at leaſt third part may be of the Scottiſh Nation.* And why did they not uſe the like Caution in the behalfe of the maintenance of the Miniſtery, when Biſhops-Lands were to be ſold to pay their army? Who doth not ſee that they intermeddle out of their *place and Calling*, with the Government of the City of *London*, the Revennue of the King, and the maintenance of the Miniſtry here in *England*, to gaine unto themſelves thoſe three Parties, the Kings Party, the City, and the Miniſtry, and ſo to make Factions among the People, contrary to their Solemne League and Covenant?

Having made anſwer to the large Paper of the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, which related to our laſt Propoſitions, We ſhall briefly anſwer the other paper, relating to the foure Bills we ſent to the King for his aſſent into the Iſle of *Wight*, and to the Inſtructions given to the Committee of both Houſes, who were appointed to carry the ſame.

The Scotch Commiſſioners in this paper ſay, *They cannot agree to this way of deſiring his Majeſties aſſent to thoſe foure Bills before any Treaty with his Majeſty upon other Propoſitions, it being in their judgements, that it is neither for the good of Religion, the King nor Kingdomes.*

To all this concerning Religion, a full and cleare anſwer hath been already made. And whereas they ſay, *That the Houſes of Parliament are in leſſe danger now than formerly, in reſpect of their ſecurity, becauſe they have a ſtrong Army, and the King hath none, And in more danger, in reſpect of Religion, when Men in Armes are demanding a Toleration of all ſorts of Religions (Popery excepted) and that no good can be expected from a Treaty upon Religion, nor that there is any hope of ſetling it according to the Covenant, when the continuance of ſuch an Army ſhall be ſetled by Law.*

By this diſcourſe it ſeems they would give precedency to a Propoſition for the diſbanding of this Army, before that Propoſition of Religion, and yet the Houſes of Parliament muſt not give precedency to a Propoſition, wherein they conceive their ſecurity conſiſt, before the Propoſition of Religion, though it be in their judgements in order to the preſervation of Religion it ſelf. As we ſaid before, the Bill for the Militia did not conclude the keeping up of this, or any other Army longer than the Houſes of Parliament ſhould think fit? But who doth not ſee that this Argument of theirs concludeth as ſtrongly againſt the Treating upon all the Propoſitions (which is their own deſire) ſo long as the Army ſtands? And though Religion ſhould be in the firſt place, yet what are they the nearer upon their grounds, the Army not being diſbanded? And if it be true, which they ſay, that men in Armes deſire a greater latitude of Toleration in Religion than is fit, Is it in their judgements the way to preſerve Religion from danger at ſuch a time, to wind up the cord too high upon the other extream, by urging an over-ſtrict conformity in all things? But we ſhall have occaſion anon to ſpeak more of the Army, and of their principles.

In the next place their Aſſertion was, That it was not for the good of the King, but their proof runneth onely, that it is not ſutable to the will of the King, and both Kingdomes have been much miſtaken hitherto, if that which is truly

truly for the good of the King, and that which is acceptable to him, have been terms convertible, a greater conversion must be wrought in him before that be granted. And whereas they think the Houses of Parliament expect too great a measure of confidence from the King in them, to grant them Bills of that importance without any assurance back again to him of satisfaction in any thing, and accompanyed with so much diffidence in him, that they will not admit of his coming to *London* upon any tearms to have a Treaty there.

We say, the King having stood it out to the last, and being reduced to the condition he is in; The Houses making so often applications to him, and after all making him such an offer as upon his granting them those few necessary things (which upon no tearms nor any treaty they can recede from) to treat upon all the rest, affordeth a greater and more solid ground of confidence to the King, than any thing he can doe for the Parliament do h give them: For what can he give them but what they have already? And although the King had granted them never so many Laws, or verball assurances, yet considering how they have been dealt with formerly in the Petition of Right, and in his promise the very day before he came to take the five Members by force out of the House of Commons, in these words, *And We doe engage unto you solemnly the word of a King, that the security of all and every one of you from violence, it, and shall be ever as much our care as the preservation of Us and Our Children*: And considering how their Brethren of *Scotland* were dealt withall after the Pacification at *Berwick*, and considering many other breaches of promises of the like nature, they did expresse a great deal more faith in the Offer made to the King in the Isle of *Wight*, than he would have done had he accepted of the same. And here we cannot but observe how much the Scotch Commissioners were deceived in their hope touching the Kings good inclination to the setling of that Proposition concerning *Ireland*, and the rest of the Propositions which the Marquis of *Argyle*, as their mouth, expressed in a speech at a Conference by a Committee of both Houses the 25. of *June* 1646. upon the occasion of the Copy of a Letter from the King to the Earl of *Ormond*, discharging him from any further medling in any Treaty with the Rebels of *Ireland*, which Copy of that Letter was delivered by the Marquis of *Argyle* at that Conference, in the name of the Commissioners of *Scotland*, and with these words, *And I likewise offer to your Lordships the Copy of His Majesties Letter to my Lord* Ormond, *discharging him from any further medling in any Treaty with the Rebels in* Ireland, *I hope in Order to His Majesties further condescending to the setling of that Proposition concerning* Ireland, *and the rest of the Propositions now to be sent unto him*: The Copy of this Letter, and what followeth thereupon we shall here set down.

CHARLES REX.

Right trusty, &c. *Having long with much grief looked upon the sad condition our Kingdom of* Ireland *hath been in these divers years, through the wicked and desperate Rebellion there, and the bloody effects have ensued thereupon; for the setling whereof, we would have wholly applyed Our selves, if the difference between Us and Our Subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn Us; and not having been*

able

able by force (for that reſpect) to reduce them, We were neceſſitated for the preſent ſafety of Our Proteſtant Subjects there, to give you power and authority to Treat with them, upon ſuch pious, honourable, and ſafe grounds as the good of that Our Kingdom did then require: But for many reaſons, too long for a Letter, We think fit to require you to proceed no further in Treaty with the Rebels, nor to engage Us upon any conditions with them after ſight hereof. And having formerly found ſuch real proof of your ready obedience to Our Commands, We doubt not of your care in this, wherein Our ſervice, and the good of Our Proteſtant Subjects in Ireland, *is ſo much concerned.*

From Newcaſtle *the* 11th. *of* June 1646.

Notwithſtanding this Letter, at the ſame time the Lord *George Digby* came to *Dublin*, and declared to the Earl of *Ormond* and the Council there, that however that Letter of the King (which he ſaid was forged, or ſurreptitiouſly procur'd) forbad them to proceed in the Treaty with the Rebels, Yet he had Inſtructions that they ſhould goe on notwithſtanding, and endeavour the concluding a Peace with them; and that though his Inſtructions were not in writing, yet he hoped no man of honour would deny him Credence, being a known Secretary to the King, and a perſon uſually imployed to ſignifie the Kings pleaſure: Whereupon ſome doubt and diſpute about it ariſing at the Council Table, the Lord *Dillon* (then one of the Council, but ſince turned to the Rebels) deſired it might be put to the Vote, and that whoever gave his Negative, might be proclaimed a Traytor to the King; but the next morning the Earl of *Ormond* ſaid he was ſatisfied concerning the Kings pleaſure therein, and that without putting of it to the vote, he would proceed himſelf to conclude the peace with the Rebels, and did it accordingly.

By this (the main condition of that Peace on the Kings ſide being the ayd of 10000. Iriſh Rebels to be ſent him into this Kingdome) both Kingdomes may judge how little ground of confidence they can have from the Kings Letters and Meſſages, upon which the Scotch Commiſſioners think it reaſonable that we ſhould build our ſecurity, and to uſe their own expreſſions, *That in his Meſſage from* Carisbrook *Caſtle he hath offered that which ſhould be very ſatisfactory.* Beſides, how baſe and diſhonourable a thing would it have been for the Houſes of Parliament, being in that conditon they are, to have treated under the Gallows, to have treated as Traytors, their cauſe being not juſtified, nor the Declarations againſt them as Rebels recalled? and how fooliſh a thing would it have been, being poſſeſſed of the ſword, according to their right, not to ſecure it even from his own claim, to the contrary, to themſelves and poſterity, before they treated of any thing, to the end that neither they, nor their Poſterity might be put to play another bloody Game for the ſame thing? And it is to be remembred alwaies, when the Scotch Commiſſioners ſpeak of the Kings offer concerning the *Militia* in his Meſſage from *Carisbrook* Caſtle, during the time of his Reign, it is with condition that it be acknowledged ever after to be in his Poſterity, which was never yet done

by any of our anceſtors, and with condition alſo of an agreement upon all theſe things, and a perſonall Treaty at *London* to that purpoſe, the danger whereof we have before declared.

In the laſt place they ſay, "That this is not a way in their apprehenſion, "for the good and ſafety of the Kingdomes, that an army holding ſuch principles "as they doe concerning Religion, and in relation to the ſetling of the Govern-"ments, and Peace of the Kingdomes, and which without any knowne authority "from the Parliament, have encreaſed their Numbers to neare the double of "what they are allowed by Order of Parliament; and in their late Repreſenta-"tives acknowledged their Supernumeraries to be about 20000. That ſuch an "army ſhould be perpetually eſtabliſhed, when there are no forces to oppoſe the "Parliament, and that the Subjects ſhall be obliged by a Law for ever to ſubmit "to a Military power, and pay what monies ſhall be demanded for their mainte-"nance.

We ſay the Bill for the Militia (as hath been ſaid) doth not eſtabliſh this or any other army any longer than the Houſes of Parliament ſhall hold it neceſſary for the ſafety of the Kingdome. And that aſſertion concerning the armies doubling their number without any knowne authority from Parliament, is alſo unknowne to us, and we believe the Scotch Commiſſioners have no credible author of that information, which by the Generall Officers of the army, who beſt know the truth of it, is affirmed to be a falſe aſperſion upon the army, and the 20000. Supernumeraries they ſpeak of, are ſuch forces of the Countryes, and Garriſons, which were raiſed by authority of Parliament, and were not formerly of that army, but were after by the Parliament put under them, that they might be under ſome diſcipline till they be disbanded. For the principles of the army, we know not what they call *ſuch Principles*, But certainly ſuch principles as we find in theſe papers of the Scotch Commiſſioners, which deliver up the cauſe we have fought for, and thoſe that have ventured all therein, to the pleaſure of the King and his party, are no good principles neither in Relation to Religion, or to the ſettlement of the Government and peace of the Kingdomes. On the other ſide, if there be any unſound principles in Relation to Religion, or the State, in ſome of the army, as in ſuch a body there uſually are ſome extravagant humours, they are very injuriouſly charged upon the whole army, whereof the Governing part hath been very carefull to ſuppreſſe, and keep downe all ſuch peccant humours, and have hitherto alwaies approved themſelves very conſtant, and faithfull to the true Intereſt of both Kingdomes, and the Cauſe wherein they have engaged, and the perſons that have engaged therein; and in the time of the greateſt troubles of our Brethren of *Scotland*, when they were at their loweſt ebbe, and their army defeated by *Montroſſe* at *Kilſith*, they ſhewed their tender Fellow-feeling of their ſufferings, and their true heartedneſſe towards them, for which the Scotch Commiſſioners (in whom we wiſh there be not a Spirit that luſteth to Envy) have made an unthankfull returne, for that kindneſſe which they expreſſed at that time unto their Nation, in their Letter to their Army, whereof a Tranſcript hereafter followeth.

May

May it please your Excellency, and the rest honour'd Friends, and beloved Brethren.

WE have not without much grief, received the sad report of your affairs in Scotland, how farre God for his best and secret ends, hath been pleased to suffer the Enemy to prevail there, And are (we speak unfeignedly) not lesse sensible of your evils, than you have been, & are of ours, nor than we are of our own, and the greater cause of sympathy have we with you, and the more doe our Bowels yern towards you, because whatever you now suffer your selves in your own Kingdom, are chiefly occasioned by your assisting us in ours, against the power that was risen up against the Lord himself, and his Anointed ones; Wherefore we cannot forget your labour of love, but thought good at this season, even amongst our many occasions, to let you know, That when the affairs of this Kingdom will possibly dispense with us, (the Parliament allowing, and you accepting of our Assistance) we shall be most willing (if need so require) to help and serve you faithfully in your own Kingdom, and to engage our selves to suppresse the Enemie there, and to establish you again in Peace. In the mean time, we shall endeavour to help you by our prayers, and to wrastle with God for one blessing of God upon both Nations, between whom, besides many other strong relations, and engagements, we hope, The unity of the Spirit, shall be the surest bond of peace; And this, whatever suggestions, or jealousies may have been to the contrary, we desire you would beleeve, as you shall ever find to proceed from integrity of heart, a sence of your sufferings, and a full purpose to answer any call of God, to your assistance, as becomes

Your Christian friends and servants in the Lord,

THO. FAIRFAX.
OLIVER CROMWELL.

Edward Montagne	*Thomas Sheffield.*	*Leonard Watson.*
Richard Forteſcue	*Charles Fleetwood.*	*Arthur Evelin.*
Hardreſſe Waller	*Ralph Welden.*	*Richard Deane.*
James Gray	*Thomas Hammond.*	*Thomas Jackſon.*
Robert Hamond	*Richard Ingoldſby.*	*John Desborough.*
Thomas Pride	*John Pickering.*	*Chriſtopher Bethell.*
Robert Pye.	*William Herbert.*	
Thomas Rainsborough.	*John Reymond.*	

Con-

Concerning the Claim which the *Scotch* Commissioners make to have an Interest in the matter of our Propositions of Peace, and in our Bills, from the eighth Article of the Treaty, wherein it is provided, "That no cessation, or any pacification, or agreement for peace whatsoever, shall be made by either Kingdome, "or the Armies of either Kingdome, without the mutuall advice and consent of "both Kingdomes, From whence they conclude, that all Propositions of peace, "and all Bills conteining any of the desires for peace, the King assenting unto "them, are agreements for peace, and therefore that it will be a violation of the "Treaty, to offer them to the King without the advice and consent of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and that they desired to see those foure Bills, and the rather, "because from the Title of the Bill for the *Militia*, they perceived it did extend to "the setling and maintaining of Forces in the Town of *Berwick*, contrary to "the large Treaty betwixt the Kingdomes: To which the House did return their "answer, That by the Priviledge, Right, and Custome of the Kingdome, and "Parliament of *England*, Bills past both Houses to be presented to the King for "his Royall assent, are not to be Communicated to any other whatsoever, either "in relation to matter or forme, before his answer thereunto given, and that there "is nothing contained in any Article of the Treaty betwixt the Kingdomes to the "contrary: and that they replyed, Bills presented to his Majesty at *Oxford*, in "1644, were communicated unto them before they were sent to the King; To the last part we say, this is most grossely mistaken in matter of Fact, for those Bills, which were shewed unto them, were tendred to the King at *Oxford*, and denyed by him, before the yeare 1644. and before the Treaty for the Covenant, and the coming of the *Scots* Army into *England*.

As to the exception concerning *Berwick*, the Inhabitants of that Town might be trained and exercised, though no Garrison were setled there; And in the Propositions sent to *Newcastle*, the power of the *Militia* in *Berwick*, as well as in other places, was expressly setled in the Houses of Parliament, whereunto the *Scots* Commissioners did agree, yet was it without prejudice to the Treaty, for it was understood with relation thereunto, and so also in the Bill, which setled the power onely in relation to the King and the Parl. Yet not to be exercised, but according to the Condition of the Treaty, against which, if any thing had been acted, or attempted, it had been then time to complaine: for it doth not in any sort follow, that because of a Treaty between one State and another, therefore a Forraigne State is to have Cognizance of, or consent in, the Lawes of another Nation, lest something should be enacted prejudiciall to the Treaty, which when it appears in Fact, it is then time for the State interessed to take their exceptions.

As to the main point in question, Whether the Kingdome of *Scotland* have an interest in the matter of our Propositions or Bills, containing our desires for a Foundation of Peace, upon the eighth Article of the Treaty before cited.

First, the Declaration of both Houses of the twenty ninth, of *June*, 1646 before cited, is expressly contrary to this claime, which being Communicated to the *Scots* Commissioners, and they returning no reply, The Houses proceed upon supposition, that the right was acknowledged unto them.

Secondly, no impartiall man can read that Article of the Treaty, but he must needs agree, that it could be meant onely whilst there was Warre, and Armies on both sides in being, and that it must of necessity end, when the Warre is at an end, and that there is no more Enemy, which is often acknowledged by the *Scotch* Com-

Commiſſioners in their Papers. And indeed, What Peace can be made, where there is no Warre? and with whom, when there is no Enemy? Such an Article as this is in all joynt Warres undertaken by Princes or States, aſſociated againſt the Common Enemy, and taketh place where the Warre ends by Contract, not where the Enemies are ſubdued; the plaine and cleare intention and equity of the Article being, that one ſhould not by Treaty ſecure himſelfe, and leave the other in danger, but doth in no ſort intereſt the one State in the particular ends and concernments of the other, nor make the one Judge of the others intereſts; as if *France* by their aſſociation with *Holland*, ſhould challenge an Intereſt, what proportion of Liberty the State of *Holland* ſhould have in relation to the Government of the King of *Spain*, or what Religion they ſhould have in their Provinces.

Having anſwered all the exceptions taken by the Scotch Commiſſioners againſt our laſt Propoſitions, and againſt the way of our Addreſſe in our laſt Meſſage to the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, and the matter of theſe foure Bills, being ſuch as the Scotch Commiſſioners had often before agreed unto (except the Declaratory Law concerning the adjournment of the Parliament, wherein they can pretend no colour of Intereſt) and the reſt (if there had been any juſt cauſe of exception) being ſubjected to a Treaty, We cannot underſtand why the Scotch Commiſſioners ſhould write in that manner they doe in thoſe Papers, or proceed in that manner that they did in the Iſle of *Wight*, to the endangering of a breach, & diviſion between the Nations, which by the wiſdome of our Brethren of *Scotland* joyned with our endeavours, and by the bleſſing of God upon both, we hope will be prevented. Is not the Cauſe the ſame in relation to the King and his Party? are not the King and his party the ſame to the Cauſe that ever they were? Wherein have we departed from our Principles? Wherein have we departed from theirs, that the Scotch Commiſſioners mindes and language ſhould be ſo changed towards us and them? Is not the Brotherly union of the two Kingdomes as beneficiall, as neceſſary, now as ever? Is not a Diviſion between them as dangerous, as deſtructive, as ever? Is not this the onely meanes for the popiſh and prelaticall Faction in forraign parts, having ſhaved off the Locks of our ſtrength, to break in upon us, and lay us waſte on every ſide? What Reformation, of Religion or of Government and Diſcipline, can our Brethren of *Scotland* expect from the King and his party, rather than from the Parliament; the profeſſed Deſigne of that Party, being to bring in Epiſcopacy, which may bring in their popiſh Innovations againe, which may bring in Popery? How then will the expectations and prayers of all the reformed Churches beyond the Seas be turned into Lamentation & diſpair? If either Kingdome, ſhould help the King and his party to deſtroy the other, what can it expect from them but *Polyphemus* courteſie to be laſt devoured. We deſire that all in both Kingdomes that are faithfull to this Cauſe, may lay theſe things to heart, and God give us wiſdome to mark thoſe that make Diviſions amongſt us, and to diſcerne from what ſource they flow, even from the old Fountain of all our evils. And is it now a time to ſet it open, and let it have a free courſe, before it ſends forth more wholſome, and not ſuch poyſoned waters, to divide us amongſt our ſelves? That as they have had it alwaies in deſigne to make us die like evil doers, and Traitors, we may alſo deſtroy our ſelves like Fooles, and ſo become at once the object both of our Enemies cruelty, and of their ſcorn, & render our ſelves a reproach, a by-word, & a hiſſing to all the Nations round about us.

The Answer of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, to severall Papers of the Commissioners of SCOTLAND.

The Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England *at* Westminster, *having received the severall Papers from the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland, *two of the* 29. *and* 30. *of* September, *with a third of the* 9. *of* Octob. 1646. *To the particulars therein contained, they returned this Answer:*

COncerning the payment of the Scots Army, so much insisted on in your Lordships Papers, The severall Declarations, and the divers courses & waies which in the said Papers are expressed, and acknowledged by your Lordships to have been made, and taken by us for the payment of that Army, sufficiently witnesse our constant care, and manifold endeavours for the supply thereof; and if all these waies have notwithstanding proved so little effectuall, as your Lordships alledge, yet can it not in any sort be imputed to the Houses of Parliament, who no sooner have had any wants of that Army, or any obstructions in the wayes taken for the entertainment thereof represented unto them, but they have forthwith applied themselves to supply the one, and remove the other to the utmost of what lay in their power; Before the Scots army was entred into this Kingdome, we appointed a Committee to sit purposely at Goldsmiths Hall, to provide Moneys and Necessaries for the support thereof; This Committee hath sate ever since constantly to that end, and to put forward the execution of our Ordinances therein, whereat twice a weeke some of the Commissioners of *Scotland* themselves were present to be witnesses and promoters of their diligence; The same Committee have their Agents in every county, to quicken the execution of our Orders below in the country; we allowed Sallaries and Rewards to the Diligent, we gave power to punish the negligent, and all that should in any sort divert or obstruct the coming in of those Assessments: When the course first designed for the payment of the Scots army out of the Estates of Papists and other Delinquents answered not expectation, we provided for it, as for other armies, by way of Tax and Assessement upon severall counties; and when those of the Northern parts proved insufficient for so great a charge, we added others thereunto, and those of the most intire and quiet parts of the Kingdome, where first was laid an assessment

ment of Two hundred thouſand pounds in groſſe, and after a monthly aſſeſſment of twenty one thouſand pounds *per menſem*: There was never any expedient offered to us for the removall of any obſtruction in the raiſing of thoſe Aſſeſſments, which we did not readily aſſent unto: There was never any thing deſired of us, by our Brethren of *Scotland*, which was in our power to grant, which we have not willingly agreed unto, for the more ſperdy and more effectuall execution of our Orders, for the pay and ſupport of that army: There was no courſe taken for any other Army, but we have taken the like alſo for the Scots Army; ſo that we may truly affirme, That it it hath not reſted on us, that that Army hath not been as well paid, and provided for, as any other whatſoever; but if the activeneſſe and great ſucceſſes of ſome other Armies have given us more credit in procuring moneys to be advanced for them, or more quickned the ſpirits of the people to pay in their Aſſeſſments to them; ſurely, that ought not to be turned into matter of Complaint againſt us, having found the ſame by experience from time to time, in the payment of the Armies of our owne Nation; poſſibly alſo the payment of other armies may appeare more conſtant, and their wants leſſe than it is well knowne to us, that both the one and the other have beene; neither have our endeavours been altogether ſo ineffectuall for the ſupply of the Scottiſh army, but that from the ſixth of *October* 1643. to the firſt of *November* 1645. there hath been actually paid to them in Money and proviſions, for which Money hath been iſſued out of Goldſmiths-Hall, the ſumme of two hundred twenty thouſand ſix hundred and twenty nine pounds *Sterling*, beſides nine thouſand pounds in Money and Lead paid unto them at *York*: And what they have received upon the Aſſeſſments of the Northerne parts, appointed to be paid in to the Lord Major of *York*, and upon the fifth and twentieth part, and from the Coale, and Exciſe of New-caſtle, and of the Northerne parts, or otherwiſe by any aſſignments of both Houſes of Parliament; and likewiſe beſides another Aſſeſſment of twenty two thouſand pounds *per menſem*, aſſeſſed upon the County of *York*, in moneys and proviſions for foure moneths, during the ſiege of *York*, and after amounting to eighty eight thouſand pounds, and alſo beſides ten thouſand pounds more for to cloath the ſouldiers of that army, upon the return to *New caſtle*, over and above all that themſelves have taxed and levied in the ſeverall Counties where they have been, and their free-quarter and diſorderly plunderings (which if they have beene ſo exceſſive as the cry thereof from ſeverall parts repreſenteth them to our eares) it is not much to be wondered, if the Water runne more ſparingly from the Ciſterne and Conduit, when it is ſo much exhauſted at the ſpring-head, from whence the Aſſeſſments for the entertainment of that Army and other Forces ſhould have riſen. Concerning the Exciſe of the Northern parts, and the waies that are alledged to be taken to divert it from the Scotiſh Army, by foreſtalling it here in the South, and applying it to other uſes, no ſuch practiſes have been made known to us; and whenſoever they ſhall be diſcovered, we ſhall be ready to apply fitting remedies thereunto: And for the Coale of *Newcaſtle* poſſibly the profit thence ariſing might fall very ſhort of the eſtimate made thereof in ſome one moneth, but in other moneths it hath come in, in greater quantities. And we finde, that for theſe Twelve Moneths laſt paſt, there hath actually come in, and been taken to the uſe of that Army upon the Coales of *New-caſtle* and *Sunderland* above fifty three thouſand pounds *Sterling*,

whereof four thousand five hundred pounds was of the Customes belonging to the Navie: and if upon the taking of *New-castle* by the Scotish army, the course for the managing of the Coales setled by both Houses of the Parliament of *England* in the Committee of Goldsmiths-Hall had not been interrupted, that Committee might have been better able to have given an account of any decay of trade therein, and how it hath happened that many moneths it hath fallen below the first estimate thereof.

Having made answer to the most material points in your Lordships papers concerning the pay of the Scots army, as you have very frequently and very freely declared unto us the wants and necessities thereof, through default of pay, so shall we also with the like freedome and brotherly affection, represent unto our Brethren of *Scotland* some particulars concerning the proceedings of that army.

It is well knowne unto your Lordships that we have upon divers occasions, signified our advices and directions, how that army might imploy it selfe most effectually for the advancement of the publique service of this Kingdome, by engaging against the common Enemies, and the places held and possessed by them, wherein (by what occasion we know not) we have found our selves severall times disappointed of our hopes and expectations, by which meanes, not onely the common cause hath been retarded, but also the end frustrated for which the assistance of so great an army was desired by us; which was, that a speedy conclusion might be put to these unhappy Warres, we shall not need to goe further back for an instance, than to that whereof the sense is freshest in our minds, and which in that conjuncture of time, and of our affaires, proved very prejudiciall to the service of this Kingdome, which was the continuing of that army in the North where no Enemy was, and not marching to besieged *Newark*, at such time as it was thereunto desired by both Houses of Parliament, although they not onely expressed their desires therein, but also their care in provision of money, and amunition to enable and encourage them to undertake that work; But having received no satisfaction at all in that particular, till that now by your Lordships Letter of the 21. of *November*, the resolution of the Generall the Earle of *Leven*, concerning the marching of that army towards *Newarke* was signified unto us. By meanes of this delay, not onely the Northern parts have laine all this while under a most unsupportable burthen; but also the fairest opportunity that hath yet offered it selfe to us since the beginning of this Warre, of putting an end to our miseries, together with the season of the yeare for the speedy reducing of that place, which was the principall ground of our resolution in that particular, is already slipt out of our hands; and the advance of the thirty thousand pounds, which we had good hope, and some assurance of from the City, for the use of that armie, in case it came to *Newark* before the first of *November*, and not otherwise, is rendred more difficult and doubtfull unto us.

It was farre from our intentions that the Scotish Army should neither be provided for by us, nor yet suffered to provide for their owne subsistence, nor doth the contrary appear by any actions or omissions on our part, nor yet by any sufferings of that army, but that according to our power, we have made provisions for them, and that they also have supplied themselves.

We shall remember according to your Lordships expressions in your papers,

That

That not written Ordinances, but reall payments muſt ſatisfie the neceſſity of the ſouldiers, and we hope it ſhall all be as well remembred alſo, how farre better than paper out Ordinances have proved to that Army, which hath not been more ready to engage it ſelfe really in the ſervice of this Kingdome, than we have been forward to pay it really, for to ſatisfie the neceſſities of the ſouldiers, and therefore deſire ſuch expreſſions may be forborne, which may ſeeme to derogate from the honour either of the proceedings, or Ordinances of Parliament.

When the Treaty was concluded between the two Kingdomes, it was ſuppoſed that ſuch might be the wants and neceſſities of this Kingdome, as that they might not be able to make due and conſtant payment to the Scots Army, yet was it not ſuppoſed that in default thereof they might forbeare to engage their Army, much leſſe lay Taxes upon the people of *England* to pay themſelves, this Kingdome being to give their publique faith for the payment of their Arreares with Intereſt, as on the other ſide the Kingdome of *Scotland* gave their publique faith that neither their entrance into, nor continuance in the Kingdom of *England*, ſhould be made uſe of to any other ends than ſuch as are contained in the Covenant and Articles of the Treaty.

That it is contrary to the Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, That any Taxes or Levies of Moneys ſhould be laid or raiſed upon them without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; we need not declare to your Lordſhips.

And we are ſorry that the cryes, which continually ſound in our eares from the people, eſpecially of the Northerne parts, brought to us by the hands of ſuch as we have intruſted there, ſhould enforce us to repreſent unto our Brethren of *Scotland*, the great Complaints, which long ſince, and at this preſent, are made of the laying of Taxes or Money, and other things by ſome of the Scots Army, and that alſo in very vaſt and exceſſive proportions, beſides free Quarterings, and diſorderly plunderings of Horſes and other goods; which courſes being taken and continued; It cannot be expected that we ſhould continue the monethly pay of that Army, which though we have not taken occaſion to ſtop and ſurceaſe upon the Taxes and levies of Moneyes and other proceedings of that Army, Yet we expect (as that which of right is due) that out of it, deduction and ſatisfaction ſhould be given in the Premiſſes. And as we are obliged to make good the Monethly pay of that Army according to the Treaty, ſo long as we ſhall finde it neceſſary to uſe the aſſiſtance thereof within this Kingdome and no longer, ſo is that Army likewiſe bound to demeane themſelves conformable to the tenour of the Treaty, and according thereunto to give ſatisfaction to this Kingdome; That ſuch Forces of the Scotiſh Nation, as have been put into the ſeverall Garriſons of *Newcaſtle* upon Tyne, the City of *Carliſle*, and other places in the North, without the conſent of both Houſes of the Parliament of *ENGLAND* ſhall be removed, to the intent that the ſame may be diſpoſed off in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought fitting by the ſaid Houſes of Parliament, The performance whereof we have demanded from the Kingdome of *Scotland*, by our Letter to that Parliament.

Theſe things we held our ſelves bound to repreſent to our Brethren of *Scot-*

land, as well in discharge of the trust reposed in us for the preservation of the Interests and liberties of this Kingdome, as also the better to maintaine the union, and good Correspondency between the two Kingdomes, which being the surest foundation of security, and prosperity to both Nations. It alwayes hath, and alwayes shall be the firme resolution of both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to preserve and maintaine the same according to the Covenant and Treaty, the common rules and markes which both Kingdoms have set up unto themselves to steere their course by, in the pursuance of their joynt-interests, and for the attaining of the good ends therein expressed and contained, from which we desire that there may be no swerving on either side, hoping and expecting the like redresse and satisfaction from our Brethren of *Scotland*, upon any infringement thereof, as we shall be ready to give unto them, if any such thing should happen on our part.

Concerning Religion, and the setling of Church-Government, as there is nothing wherein we have more desired to approve our consciences to God, and our actions to the world, so doe our hearts give us a very cleer Testimony of the faithfull and diligent discharge of our duty therein, according to the trust reposed in us and the Covenant taken by us. And we conceive our actions witnesse no lesse to all that will rightly weigh and consider, what we have already done therein, and with what diligence and zeale we have from time to time proceeded in that worke of God, being resolved to continue in so doing, till we have fully supplyed what shall yet appeare wanting therein, it being alwayes to be remembred, that the preserving of the Liberty, and freedome of our debates, and Resolutions in Parliament, is not to be interpreted or termed negligence or delay in us.

As to the Propositions of Peace to be sent to his Majesty in pursuance of our Resolutions of the sixth of *August*, communicated to your Lordships, we have proceeded therein as the exigents of our affaires would permit, and the Propositions being at this present continually in agitation and debate in Parliament; We are resolved to apply our selves both speedily and effectually to the perfecting of them, according to the present state of affaires, and we doubt not but that our actions shall testifie to our Brethren of *Scotland*, and all the world, that there is no earthly thing more in our Thoughts and desires, than the setling of a safe and a well-grounded Peace in the three Kingdomes, for which we have done and suffered as much as any Kingdome in the world.

The

The Answer of the Commons Assembled in Parliament, to the Scots Commissioners Papers of the 20. and their Letters of the 24. of *October*, 1646.

THat there might be a firme and lasting brotherly Union between the two Kingdomes, is the earnest desire of our hearts; and that our proceedings may be according to our Covenant and the Treaties between us; and that our endeavours have been accordingly, our own Consciences, our Brethren of Scotland, *and all that know our wayes can beare us witnesse.*

That we may still walk in the same path, prevent all misapprehensions, and bring a right understanding amongst us; The Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, *doe returne this ensuing Answer to your Lordships two Papers of the Twentieth, and to your Letter of the Twenty fourth of* October *last; Wherein our end being to give satisfaction to the Arguments in your Papers, We shall therefore Answer the severall particulars in the method we finde them, onely to make our whole intentions the more easily knowne, (the method you have taken in your Papers not allowing us a cleare connexion of the matters therein contained, and inforcing us to repeat the same thing oftner then We desire) We shall first premise and lay downe these following considerations:*

I. FIrst, That your Papers being grounded upon the resolutions of both Houses, and on the Conference thereupon had, We shall set downe the true state of Fact concerning them, which was thus; Upon the 24. of *September*, 1646. the Houses passed these Resolutions (*viz.*) 1. *That the Person of the King shall be disposed of, as both the Houses of the Parliaments of* England *shall thinke fit.* 2. *That the Houses doe Declare, That whatsoever Conference, Consultation or Debate shall be with the Commissioners of* Scotland, *concerning the disposall of the Person of the King, it shall not be understood to be any Capitulation in relation to the regarding of the march of the Scots Armies and Forces out of the Kingdome, or of any Treaties between the Kingdomes concerning the same.*

Upon the same 24. day of *September*, *A Committee is appointed to meet with a proportionable number of the Lords in the Painted Chamber, to Confer, Consult and Debate with the Commissioners of* Scotland *concerning the disposal of the Person of the*

King;

King, if it ſhall be deſired by the Scots Commiſſioners, and this to be communicated to the Scots Commiſſioners by the Members of both Houſes of the Committee of both Kingdomes. Theſe Reſolutions Ordered to be communicated to the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, were accordingly delivered to them by the Members of both Houſes, that are of the Committee of both Kingdomes, the 25. of the ſame Moneth.

Upon the 29. day of *September*, your Lordſhips by your Paper deſired a Conference in theſe words. *We have peruſed the Votes of both Houſes communicated to us by your Lordſhips, and as we did formerly deſire in our Paper of the 11. of Auguſt laſt, ſo we ſhall be ready on Thurſday next to Confer, Debate and Conſult with ſuch as the Honourable Houſes have thought fit to appoint; and if their Committee cannot with conveniency meet at that time, We deſire it may be ſo ſoon as poſſibly they can.*

By Command of the Commiſſioners for the Parliament of *Scotland*, Jo: Chiſly.

Which was thus granted, (*viz*.) 1 Octob. *Ordered, That the Committee formerly appointed to meet with the Commiſſioners of* Scotland *Do meet this Afternoon at three of the Clock with the ſaid Commiſſioners, to Confer, Debate and Conſult with them, concerning the Diſpoſal of the Perſon of the King, according to the former Votes and Declarations of both Houſes.*

Upon the firſt day of *October* before the Conference did begin, all theſe Papers were read, and your Lordſhips were told by our Committees, If you were pleaſed to ſay any thing *herein*, they were ready to confer with you *according to thoſe Reſolutions*, ſo as this Conference was by your conſent to be with theſe two Limitations; (*viz*.)

1. That it ſhould be about the diſpoſing of the Kings perſon as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall thinke fit.

2 That it ſhall not be underſtood to be any Capiculation in relation to the retarding of the march of the Scots Armies and Forces out of the Kingdome, or of any Treaty between the Kingdomes concerning the ſame.

And all things concerning your Speeches and Papers concerning change of Fundamentall or Monarchicall Government, or Uniformity in Church Government, Toleration of all Sects and ſorts of Religion, concerning the Kings voluntary diſpoſing of Himſelfe (it being granted by you, That His perſon is to be Diſpoſed by your joynt conſent) or concerning the manner of diſpoſing of Him, and all other things of like nature, ſaving only about the right of this Kingdome, to diſpoſe of the perſon of the King in *England*, without the joynt advice and conſent of the Kingome of *Scotland*, being Forraign to the matter of theſe Reſolutions, were improper at this Conference; for our Committee having their limits, could not expect to heare any ſuch, or were to intermeddle to give an anſwer to them.

III. That the matter of the Conference being ſtated by the Houſes, and your Lordſhips often put in minde in anſwer to your Claim for the Kingdom of *Scotlands* right of joynt Intereſt, in Diſpoſing the Perſon of the King, That the ſole matter thereof was concerning the two Houſes of Parliament of *England*, having the right to Diſpoſe the Perſon of the King in the Kingdome of *England*, without the

the joynt advice and consent of the kingdome of *Scotland*: Your Lordships did make your Objections, to which our Committees Answered; Your Lordships Replied, and our Committees answered those Replies; yet in your Paper you state the question, as if to be debated on your Resolutions, and place our Committee to make Objections, and your Lordships make the answer of our Committees to your first Objections, and their answer to your Replies, as one intire Objection; your Lordships well know, an answer to a Reply may be full as to the Reply, yet not applicable to every part of the first Objection.

III. That your Lordships engaged our Committees at the Conference to make no Report of any thing had passed at the same, till you had delivered your owne answer in writing; and before any Report made by our Committee, or any Paper put into the Houses by you, some of your Lordships did give directions for the printing three Thousand Copies of the Lord Chancellors Speeches at the Conference, which by the Printers Confessions had been published on Thursday the 15. of *October* last, had they not been sent for by an Order of the house of Commons, Wednesday the 14. of the same Moneth, after which time, and not before, they received order from you not to publish them till further directions; which Speeches are since published, and said to be printed at *Edenburgh*.

That you printed those Papers, which you afterward gave into the Houses, as your answer to those Votes (which were the subject of the Conference) sooner than it was possible for the Houses to give an answer to Papers of that length, as if the *PREPOSSESSING* of the people were more considered by you than the satisfaction of the Houses: And if your Lordships had thought fit to have staid for our answer, We conceive you would not have published those Papers, which is an action contrary to the practice of all publique Ministers, who ought not to publish to the people the Transactions between them and that State to which they are employed, which we are enforced to represent to your Lordships, and to publish this answer, it having been so often done by your directions in this Kingdome, and in this present businesse done after such a manner, neither we, nor any imployed by us, having ever done any such thing in the Kingdome of *Scotland*.

IV. That the Intereſt of *Scotland* in the King, and the *exerciſe* thereof in the kingdome of *England* being of severall and distinct natures, are not to be confounded as one and the same thing; for if you grant that you have no right of exercise of Intereſt in Diſpoſing the person of the King (He being in *England*) we shall not Diſpute your having Intereſt in Him.

V. That the question then was, *Who* shall Diſpoſe of the Person of the King in *England*, and not *after what manner* His person shall be Diſpoſed: And it is to be considered in what condition the King now is, That He hath deſerted His Parliament and People, entred into and continued in a bloody and dangerous War against them, Hath not granted those Propoſitions that by both Kingdomes were sent unto Him, as the meanes of a safe and well-grounded peace, And therefore is not for the present in a condition to exercise the Duties of His place, or be left to goe or reside where and when he pleaseth: And your Lordships did at the Conference Declare, That it was prejudiciall to both kingdomes for the King to goe into *Scotland*.

VI. That your Lordships cannot in reason insist, because in our diſpoſing

the Perſon of the King, we may hereby prejudice the Kingdome of *Scotland*, (the which was never yet done by us) on ſuch a poſſibility to claime a joynt Right in diſpoſing the perſon of the King in this Kingdome, which from the firſt coming hither of King *James*, now Forty foure yeares, was never before claimed, when as the two Kingdomes had not then the Security from each other againſt all Imaginary prejudices, which might happen through the abuſes of their particular Rights, as now they have, being ingaged by Covenant in their ſeverall Vocations, mutually to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, the Liberties of the Kingdomes, and the Kings Perſon and Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, as by the Third Article of the Covenant doth clearly appeare.

What would your Lordſhips thinke, if we ſhould claime joynt right of Intereſt in your Towns, your Forces or Money in *Scotland*, upon that ſuppoſition that poſſibly you may uſe them to the prejudice of this Kingdome: Let not the reſults of your Arguments for Union, or for the King be, That the Kingdome of *Scotland* may exerciſe their Intereſt in the Kingdome of *England*, Nor let your expreſſions obliquely infer, That the Parliament of *England* will not do what becometh them to the King, ſince all the world doth know that this Kingdome hath in all times ſhewne as great affections to their Kings, as any other Nation.

VII. Becauſe your Lordſhips moſt inſiſt upon the Covenant and Treaty in this caſe, and alſo throughout all your Anſwers to thoſe you call Objections, We ſhall out of many inſert ſome of the expreſſions in your Papers concerning the Covenant and Treaty.

(Pag. 5. and 6. of your Papers) *And unleſſe We lay aſide the Covenant, Treaties, Declarations of both Kingdomes, and Three yeares conjunction in this Warre, neither the one Kingdome nor the other muſt now looke back what they might have done ſingly before ſuch a ſtrict Union; But looke forwards what is fitteſt to be done by both Joyntly for the common good of both, and for the ends of the Covenant, which both are obliged Joyntly to proſecute and promote.*

And as Reaſons may be drawne from the nature of all Aſſociations, ſo eſpecially from the nature of ours in the Solemn League and Covenant; the Title, Narrative, Articles and Concluſion of it doe alonglinke together the Intereſt of the Kingdomes in this commen cauſe ſo much concerning the Glory of God, their owne Safety, Union and Peace, and the Honour and Happineſſe of the King and His Poſterity; which ends of the Covenant, both Parliaments, as well as other Subjects of both Kingdomes, have obliged themſelves Joyntly and Mutually to promote.

Pag. 6. *So that the ends of the Covenant, upon which the Diſpoſal of the King muſt needs have a ſtrong influence, are not to be proſecuted by the Two Kingdomes, as by Two diſtinct Bodies acting ſingly, but they were united by Solemn Covenant made to Almighty God, and by League each to other, as one intire Body to proſecute this Cauſe.*

Pag. 9. of your Papers: *Wherefore we cannot chuſe but obſerve, by the Conjunction and Parity of Intereſts, by the Treaty betweene the Kingdomes, by the Solemn League and Covenant, that there may be a Conjunction of the Councels and Reſolutions of both Kingdomes, in diſpoſing of that Royall Perſon, who is King of both.*

Pag. 13. *That the proſecution of this Warre ſhould be with the Joynt advice and conſent of both Kingdomes; and according to theſe grounds a Covenant was agreed upon,*

upon, for the Reformation of Religion, and preservation of the Liberties of the Kingdomes, and of the Kings Person and Authority.

Pag 7 *From the Treaty the same thing doth further appeare, it being thereby manifest, That our Army was to be levyed for the Common good of both Kingdomes, in pursuance of the ends exprssed in the Covenant.*

Again, Pag 7. *So that if the Disposal of the Kings Person, mentioned in the Vote of both Houses, be intended for the Good, Peace and Security of both Kingdomes, then it should not be done with out the mutual Advice and Consent of both.* Thus farre out of your Papers.

HAving thus laid downe, That you claime that nothing contained in the matter of the Covenant, or to be done in pursuance of the ends thereof, or that hath a strong influence thereupon, can be done by the Kingdome of England *in England*, without the *Joynt* advice and Consent of the Kingdome of *Scotland*; We shall in the next place lay down the most materiall things contained in the Covenant, which are, The Reformation of Religion in *England* and *Ireland*; The Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresie, Schisme and Prophanenesse; The preservation of the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and Liberties of the Kingdomes; And to preserve and defend the Kings Majesties Person and Authority in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdomes.

Whence necessarily followes, That the *Militia* by Sea and Land in the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*; The power of making Peace and Warre with Forraigne States, the Kings consent in the enacting any Law; The power of the Houses of the Parliaments of *England* and *Ireland* in cases of Judicature upon Delinquents and Monopolies, Impositions and other Grievances upon the people of this Kingdome; The conferring the great Places of Honour and Trust, making of Peers of Parliament, conferring other Titles of Honour, what Revenue the King is to have in *England* and *Ireland*, and how to be Disposed, and whatsoever else is to be done by the King and Kingdome, or by either of them in relation each to other, cannot at any time be acted without the *Joynt Advice and Consent of the Kingdome of* Scotland: For the Covenant expresseth in the third Article, To preserve and defend the Kings Majesties Person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, and for the Reformation of Religion in *England* and *Ireland*, the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresie, Schisme and Prophanenesse, the preservation of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, and Liberties of the Kingdomes. It also followeth, That the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, as well in things that have no relation to the King, as in those which have, can exercise no powers or Jurisdictions *without the Advice or Consent of the Kingdome of Scotland*, the matters of Religion, Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, comprehending whatsoever is to be acted in the Government of the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, on this foundation laid in your Papers, The Kingdome of *Scotland* may, when they see time, claim a Right of joynt Interest with the Kingdome of *England* in all the things before mentioned, and except against, and question the validity of the Ordinances for taking away of the Court of Wards, Setling the Militia of the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, for sale of Bishops Lands, and all other proceedings in Parliament, since

the Covenant and Treaty, whereto the Consent of the Kingdome of *Scotland* hath not been had.

And your Lordships by obtesting in these words, That there may be a Convention of the Councels and Resolutions of both Kingdomes, in disposing of that Royall person who is King of both: And that all lawfull and possible meanes, of which this is one, and a chiefe one, may be used, which may preserve His Majesties Person, Honour and Happinesse: And from your Proposition, That the King may come hither in Safety, Freedom and Honour, you doe now claim from the Covenant and Treaty a Negative voice, and right of *Joynt consent* with this Kingdome, in all things in relation between the King and the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, which are all comprehended under the words of Safety, Freedome, Honour and Happinesse.

We shall now appeale to the Consciences of our Brethren of *Scotland*, and of all those who have taken or read this Covenant or Treaty, if any such Construction can be made out of them, or any of them; or whether it would have ever entred into the thoughts of the Free People of this Kingdome, to have made such a Covenant or Treaty, which might any way bear such an Interpretation so destructive to their Freedoms, as to introduce another Nation to be one of the Estates of this Kingdom, and to have a *Negative voice* in all things concerning their welfare, whereby we should at once give up what we have for so many ages derived from our Ancestors, and what we have indeavour'd to preserve with so great an expence of Blood and Treasure; and so much the rather, in respect this present Parliament hath not, nor doth claime any thing of this nature within the Kingdome of *Scotland*, nor put any such construction upon the Covenant or Treaties, in relation to the Kingdome of *Scotland*. And how far this is, not onely from the intent, but from the very words of the Covenant, We shall presently make more fully appeare.

We by the Covenant in the first Article which concernes Religion, *are to indeavour in our severall Places and Callings.*

In the Second, which concernes the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresie, Schism and Prophanenesse, *to indeavour in like manner.*

In the Third, which concernes the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, the Liberties of the Kingdomes, and the preservation and defence of the Kings Person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the kingdomes, *to indeavour in our severall vocations.*

The Fourth, which concernes Incendiaries, they are to be brought to publique tryall, and receive condigne punishment from the Supream Judicatories of *both Kingdomes respectively.*

In the Fifth, concerning the continuing of the Peace and Union of the kingdome of *England* and *Scotland*, *We shall each one of us indeavour according to our Places and Interests.*

In the Sixth and Last, concerning the assistance and defence of all those that enter into this Covenant, *To endeavour according to our Places and Callings*, to performe whatsoever we are obliged to by the Covenant.

It seemes strange to us, That *England* and *Scotland* be severall distinct Kingdomes, and by the Covenant each one being to act in his *severall Place, Vocation, Calling and Interest*, that the Kindome of *Scotland* should from this Covenant intitle themselves to the right of exercising any *Joynt Power* in the Kingdome of

of *England*, the expreſſe words of the Covenant being directly contrary to the exerciſe of any *Joynt Power*, which was *ſeverall and diſtinct* before the making this Covenant, and the joynt exerciſe of ſuch power would breake the Covenant; becauſe we are thereby obliged in our *ſeverall Vocations*, mutually to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdomes; and the exerciſe of ſuch *a Joynt Power*, which doth give a *Negative voice* to another Nation, in the proceedings in the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, would be a manifeſt breach of thoſe Priviledges and Liberties: And whereas throughout your whole Papers; this *Joynt Intereſt* is ſo much inforced from the Covenant, neither that word *Joynly*, nor any other expreſſion, which will beare that Interpretation, is ſo much as men ioned in the Covenant; and the words, *Each one in his ſeverall Vocation, Calling, Place and Intereſt*, which runs through the whole Covenant, and would have cleared the meaning of it, are *wholly left out* by you, and in all your recitals of the Covenant, or Arguments drawne from thence, there are *no words to that effect*.

Your other arguments drawn from the Treaty, That the Scots Army was brought into this kingdome to purſue the ends expreſt in the Covenant; whence you enforce, That whatſoever is to be done by that Treaty, muſt be by the conſent of the kingdome of *Scotland* (becauſe according to the ends of the Covenant) have been before fully anſwered in our ſhewing, how far ſuch *Joynt conſent* is both the expreſſe words and meaning of the Covenant. And whereas you would enforce the meaning of the Covenant to be, that nothing can be done in purſuance thereof, but by *your Joynt conſent*, becauſe from the third Article in the Treaty, your Army is to be directed by the joynt Advice of both kingdomes, or their Committees; and from the Eighth Article, That no Ceſſation or Peace be made by either kingdome, without conſent of both; and from the Ninth Article, That all matters of difference between the Subjects of the two Nations are to be determined by the joynt conſent of both kingdomes or their Committees: If no, Things to be done in purſuance of the Covenant could be done without your joynt conſent, the particulars and expreſſe proviſion, That theſe Three things ſhould be done by joynt conſent, had been altogether needleſſe.

Your Arguments from the treaty againſt the power of this kingdomes acting in the things mentioned in your Papers without the conſent of the kingdome of *Scotland*, are particularly anſwered in the places where you alledge them.

And your Lordſhips may well remember, That your firſt denying of the power of the kingdome of *England* to act without your *joynt conſent*, *was not firſt ſet on foot concerning the diſpoſing of the Perſon of the King in England*; And therefore by reaſon of ſome Papers and Speeches of yours concerning the Propoſitions for reformation of Religion, and the Militia of the kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, and concerning ſome of our Nation having Offices and Places within this Kingdome; Both Houſes of Parliament for the vindicating of the Right of the Kingdome of *England* from the Conſtruction then and now put upon the Covenant and Treaty, did upon the 29th. of *June*, 1646. declare as followeth:

Die Lunæ 29. Junii. 1646.

WHereas the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, in the name and on the behalfe of the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, in the name and on the behalfe of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, Have thought fit to send to the King The humble Desires and Propositions for a safe and well grounded Peace, agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdomes respectively; The Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England* do declare, That it is not their intention that any construction should be made thereupon, as if either Kingdome had any interest in the matter of each others Propositions, or in the Legislative power of each other concerning any of the said Propositions, but that it remaineth distinct in each Kingdome respectively: And that notwithstanding any joynt proceedings upon the said Propositions, either Kingdome hath power of themselves to continue, repeale, or alter any Law that shall be made upon the said Propositions, for the good and government of either Kingdome respectively: And it is hereby declared, That both Houses are fully resolved to maintaine and preserve inviolably, the Solemne League and Covenant, and the Treaties betwixt the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*.

THis Declaration being sent to your Lordships, and we receiving no answer, conceived you rested satisfied therewith: And we desire you further to remember, That whereas in the yeare 1641. divers things concerning the Kingdome of *Scotland* were debated in *England*, your Lordships did then (for the saving the Rights of *Scotland*, that we might not claime any *Joynt Right* in things concerning that Kingdome) declare, *That neither by your Treaty with the English, nor by seeking your peace to be established in Parliament, nor any other action of yours you doe acknowledge any dependency upon them, or make them Judges to you or your Lawes, or any thing that may import the* smallest *prejudice to your liberties; but that you came in a free and brotherly way by your informations, to remove all doubts that might arise concerning the proceedings of your Parliament, and to joyn your indeavours in what might conduce for the peace and good of both Kingdomes, no otherwise than if by occasion of the Kings residence in Scotland Commissioners in the like exigence should be sent thither from* England.

And as we did rest satisfied with those desires of yours, and this present Parliament never did, nor yet doe claime any exercise of the powers within the king-

kingdome of Scotland, which you deſire within this Kingdome, we cannot but in Juſtice expect the like equity from that Kingdome.

VIII. That by your arguments for a right of joynt diſpoſing of the perſon of the King in England (which muſt relate as well to the perſons that are to be about him, as the place where he is to reſide) You ſeeme to Claim to have an equal number, or ſuch a number as you ſhall think fit of the Scots Nation to be of the Kings Councel, and of his Bed-chamber, and other officers about his perſon and his ſucceſſors in the Kingdome of England, as a Right of the Kingdome of Scotland.

IX. And concerning your deſires for the ſpeedy payment of 200000 l. mentioned in your papers of the 24. of *October*, The Parliament of England is not ingaged to pay you 200000 l. at one time, but onely that the firſt 100000 l. thereof be paid unto you upon the marching of your Army and Forces out of this Kingdome, at ſuch time and place as ſhall be hereafter expreſſed.

That the ſecond 100000 l. ſhall be paid by 50000 l. and 50000 l. the firſt 50000 l. at the end of three moneths after the payment of the 100000 l. and the ſecond 50000 l. at the end of nine moneths after the ſaid firſt payment; yet to manifeſt our willingneſſe and readineſſe to comply with our Brethren of *Scotland*, We have for above ſix weeks laſt paſt, ſpent a great part of our time to borrow 200000 l. which if we cannot ſpeedily obtain, we aſſure our ſelves, our Brethren of *Scotland* will reſt ſatisfied with ſo much of the 200000 l. as we are able to pay for the preſent. But we moſt earneſtly deſire, That while ſome parts of your Papers preſſe us for the money, the body of thoſe Papers, and your ſpeeches at Conferences may not obſtruct the Loan; The people lend their mony on beliefe that there will be no breach amongſt us, That the Northern Counties, ſo conſiderable a part of this Kingdome, may not be deſtroyed, That the Kingdome will be eaſed of the burthen of your Army, that we might be the better enabled to ſend reliefe to Ireland: Now if the people collect out of your Speeches and Papers, that you who are the Commiſſioners for the Kingdome of *Scotland* have doubt of a breach amongſt us, and of a ſecond Warre, you do your ſelves give occaſion of obſtructing the meanes of obtaining money for which you ſo much preſſe.

And thus having premiſed theſe neceſſary conſiderations, We come to the particulars in your large Paper.

We do affirm, *That the Kingdome of* Scotland *hath no right of Joynt exerciſe of intereſt in diſpoſing the perſon of the King in the Kingdome of* England; For *England* clearely being a free Kingdome, no other Kingdome hath right of exerciſe of intereſt in it, but by Contract; And by how much any Kingdome hath otherwiſe right of exerciſe of intereſt in it, by ſo much it is not free; Your Lordſhips will grant the diſpoſing of the perſon of the King is an exerciſe of intereſt, and you did grant at the Conference (though it be now left out in your Papers) That the Kingdome of *Scotland* had no right of exerciſe of intereſt in *England*, but by the Covenant and Treaties, which Covenant and Treaties give no *Joynt power to the Kingdom of Scotland* concerning the diſpoſing of the perſon of the King within the Kingdome of *England*, but doth oblige both Nations to preſerve and not confound the Rights and Liberties of each, as by the third Article of the Covenant will plainely appeare; and the laſt Treaty is for your coming into *England* to aſſiſt us, that we might enjoy our particular Rights and Liberties.

The words of the third Article of the Covenant are, *We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity,*

ſincerity, reality, and conſtancy in our ſeverall vocations endeavour with our eſtates and lives mutually to preſerve the rights and priviledges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdomes; And to preſerve and defend the Kings Majeſties perſon and authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdomes; That the world may beare witneſſe with our conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his Majeſties juſt power and greatneſſe.

From whence it is moſt evident, that the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, are in the *firſt place* to be preſerved; And this every one is to doe in his *ſeverall Vocation*, and not to intermeddle within each others precincts, but when and ſo far forth as they are *duly* called thereunto; nor with each others proper rights and interſts, which we are bound to preſerve, and to preſerve *diſtinct*, elſe we breake our Covenant; And we are to preſerve the King in his perſon and authority *Relatively* (viz.) *in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdomes*; And we do not deſire to take away your right of intereſt in the perſon of the King, but we ſay, You have no *Exerciſe* of that right, *the King being in England*, And we are ſo farre from Claiming any right for the Kingdome of *England* in this caſe, which in the like we would not give to our brethren of *Scotland*, as we do freely and willingly declare, That if the King were *duly* in *Scotland*, we ſhould not claim any joynt intereſt in diſpoſing of his perſon there.

And if your arguments for ſtrict mutuality were to the queſtion, you might with much more reaſon have offered that the King ſhould be ſix moneths with us without your conſent, you. Army having diſpoſed of him ſix moneths without our conſent, and after that time then to have inferred a joynt conſent, your Lordſhips will not think but that both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* may as well be truſted with the diſpoſing of the perſon of the King in *England*, as the Scots Army.

Your diſcourſe, That the perſon of the King is not to be reſtrained from his voluntary comming to either kingdome, when the neceſſary affaires of the kingdomes doe require it, is not to the queſtion, and not applicable to the condition in which the King now is, as is fully declared in the fifth conſideration.

Your inſtance, That two being aſſociated of Lands, Stock, or the like (for thoſe of Parent, Maſter and Servant have no relation to the preſent debate) one may not diſpoſe of them without the conſent of both; and thence infer, Much leſſe may we being aſſociated, diſpoſe of the perſon of the King without your joynt conſent: Theſe are not to the caſe in queſtion, but do trouble the right underſtanding of it, for we are aſſociated *in ſome common ends* for the good of both, but not aſſociated in that which is our *ſeverall diſtinct and particular rights*, which is the onely matter before us: And the diſpoſing of the perſon of the King in the kingdome of *England*, according to the caſe in queſtion, is the particular right of the two Houſes of Parliament: The kingdome of *Scotland* hath no more right of joynt exerciſe of intereſt of diſpoſing the perſon of the King in the kingdome of *England*, than they had right of joynt exerciſe of intereſt in our Inheritance, Lands, Stocks, or the like, which your ſelves bring as examples to this caſe.

From our Declaration of the fifth of *Auguſt* 1645. ſent to the Lords States Generall of the United Provinces, as recited by you, (viz.) *They were united by ſolemn Covenant made to Almighty God, and by League each to other, as one entire body to proſecute this cauſe*, you cannot infer your joynt right of diſpoſing the perſon

of

of the King in *England*; for that Declaration was in answer to an Embassie from the Lords States Generall, desiring to be admitted as Mediators for a yeare, which by the eighth Article of the Treaty we were not to make without the joynt consent of the kingdome of *Scotland*; and the words are not, That we are made one entire body in all our rights and liberties, but to prevent any such construction as you put upon them, the words are, As one entire body to prosecure this Cause; so as the being one entire body is, as to prosecute the common Cause, which they may well doe in their severall vocations and callings, without confounding the severall interests of the kingdomes, and not to be one entire body in our particular rights and liberties, which is the onely thing in question; And as to that you call a notable instance in that Declaration, viz. *That by the Covenant both Houses of Parliament, and many thousands of other His Majesties subjects of* England *and* Ireland *stand bound as well as we to hinder the setting up of the Church government by Bishops in the kingdome of* Scotland, *and that we as well as they stand bound to endeavour the extirpation thereof in* England *and* Ireland, We desire it may be observed, That that expression in the Declaration is according to the tenor of the Covenant, which obligeth us to act in our *severall Vocations* without confounding the particular interests of the Kingdomes; and no words in that Declaration infer any other sense, and your inferences from the Covenant are directly against the Covenant, as doth before appear.

The eighth Article of the Treaty is, *That no cessation nor any pacification or agreements for peace whatsoever shall be made by either kingdome, without the mutuall advice and consent of both kingdomes, or their Committees in that behalfe appointed, who are to have full power for the same in case the Houses of the Parliament of* England, *or the Parliament or Convention of Estates in* Scotland *shall not sit.*

Your Lordships inference from this Article, That because we cannot make peace without your joynt consent, we cannot therefore dispose of the person of the King in the kingdome of *England* without your consent, is thus clearely answered, The not making any cessation, pacification or agreement for peace without you, and our disposing the person of the King without you, do consist well together, and it cannot from hence be inferred, That therefore the place where the King shall reside, untill this peace were made, he being in *England*, ought not to be at the appointment of the Parliament of *England*.

We know your Lordships can and will witnesse with us, that since our Covenant and Treaty we have not received any *Dignities or Offices* from the King, nor suffered any *Forraigne Agents* to intermeddle in this Cause, or any Messengers to passe betweene the King and *Queene*, or sent any Committees to the King without your consent, or done any thing with him that may admit colour of our making peace without your joynt consent; but if disposing the person of the King in *England* without joynt consent be a making of the peace, and a breach of the Treaty, then it unanswerably follows, That your Army hath made peace with the King, and broken the Treaty, for they have disposed of him without our consent, and since our Votes to the contrary.

If your Lordships had been pleased to have set downe in your Paper the ninth Article, you would never have drawne any argument from thence, for your joynt right in disposing the person of the King in *England*; The words are, That "the publique Faith of the Kingdome of *Scotland* shall be given to their brethren "of *England*, That neither their Entrance into, nor their continuance in the

" kingdome of *England*, ſhall be made uſe of to any other ends than are therein " expreſſed in the Covenant, and in the Articles of this Treaty; And that all " matters of difference that ſhall happen to ariſe betweene the Subjects of the two " Nations, ſhall be reſolved and determined by the Mutuall advice and conſent " of both kingdomes, or by ſuch Committees as for this purpoſe ſhall be by them " appointed, with the ſame power as in the precedent Article.

Now from the very words of the eighth and ninth Articles, the differences to be reſolved and determined, are between the SUBJECTS of the two Nations: And in caſe the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, or the Parliament, or Convention of Eſtates in *Scotland* doe not ſit, are to be reſolved and determined by their Committees, who (as your Lordſhips conſtrue the Article) would have power finally to reſolve and determine the Rights of both Kingdoms in the greateſt Caſes, and even without Inſtructions, the Caſes being ſo various, as the Parliament could not poſſibly foreſee all that might happen, to give Inſtructions in them; And therefore the Article, to avoide any ſuch conſtruction, doth purpoſely provide, That the Reſolving and Determining of the differences in this Article, are only to be the Differences betweene SUBJECT and SUBJECT; We ſhall not think that our Brethren united with us in Covenant and Treaty, coming into the kingdome to our aſſiſtance, will inſiſt to claime right of joynt intereſt to diſpoſe of the perſon of the King, he being in this kingdom, and alledge the ninth Article of the Treaty for it, which from the beginning to the ending provides againſt it: Your Lordſhips may with as much reaſon argue, that when you have poſſeſſion of our Towns, or other Rights, if you doe differ with us about them, you may, becauſe you differ, claime joynt intereſt in them, for that all differences are to be reſolved by the joynt advice and conſent of both, and alledge the ninth Article of the Treaty for it. And now we hope your Lordſhips will reſt ſatisfied, That we claime nothing againſt the Covenant, Treaty, or our Declaration of the fifth of *Auguſt* 1645. ſent to the Lords States Generall of the united Provinces, but in purſuance of them.

And as to your Lordſhips argument, that you may expect a Conjunction of Councels, in diſpoſing the Perſon of the King, becauſe the Houſes did think fit, that in the managing of this Warre, there ſhould be a conjunction of the Councels of both Kingdomes, in reference to the Engliſh, as well as unto the Scotiſh Forces. Your Lordſhips well know, the Houſes joyning your Lordſhips in their Councels in managing their Engliſh Forces, was the ſingle voluntary Act of the two Houſes, and not the joynt Act of both Kingdomes, and was determinable at the pleaſure of the two Houſes, and practiſed accordingly; and whenſoever the Houſes pleaſed, they did diſpoſe their Counſels and Forces without your conſent; and therefore a Joynt Intereſt of both kingdomes cannot be argued out of it. Doe you think if you had claimed it as a joynt right of Intereſt of the kingdome of *Scotland*, that we ſhould ever have joyned you in our Councels, or governing our Engliſh Forces? It is moſt true. We did invite your coming to our aſſiſtance, on Principles of Common intereſt; We did let you know, the one kingdome cannot enjoy a firm Peace, whilſt the other is in War; We did put you in mind of the affection & duty which becometh Brethren; We ſtill perſiſt on the ſame grounds, and we moſt earneſtly deſire you to hold the principles of Common Intereſt *ſo underſtood*; and then we ſhall heare of no further claim to the peculiar right of the kingdome of *England*, as certainely we ſhall make none to the peculiar rights of the kingdome of *Scotland*.

Your

Your Lordſhips ſpeak of eſpouſing our Quarrels, and at the Conference, and in your Papers ſo often mention your forſaking your owne peace for us (not to looke back on former times,) We deſire you to remember, that the firſt part of this Warre was made againſt the kingdome of *Scotland by the* King, and not by the kingdome of *England*, that the two Houſes of Parliament did aſſiſt to procure your Peace, and as an unparallel'd teſtimony of their Brotherly affection, did give you three hundred thouſand pounds.

And although it were not ſo often remembred by your Lordſhips in your Papers, yet we ſhould not forget the Love of our Brethren in comming to our aſſiſtance, and ſhall returne any meaſure of conjunction of Intereſt, that We have had (not got) from you, but hazard our owne Peace for Yours, and requite every kindneſſe you have done, or deſired to doe for us: And this you deſire, that the ſame meaſure of conjunction of Intereſt, be given you, which was got from you, may ſatisfie you; that the meaſure of conjunction of Intereſt is upon Common principles, and not in the exerciſe of each others particular Rights, for we have neither had, nor do deſire any particular Right in the kingdome of *Scotland*, and therefore you, by your owne argument, ought not to deſire any particular Right in the kingdome of *England*; And doe therefore obteſt, By the Common good of both Kingdomes, By the Love of Brethren, By the Treaty between the Kingdomes, By the Solemn League and Covenant, By the Law of Nations, By Benefits formerly received, and acknowledged, and by that univerſall Law of a Chriſtian life (*viz.*) to doe as you would be done unto: (which we deſire you ſeriouſly to weigh) By all theſe, and by whatever elſe may be obliging, We deſire you not to claime, to diſpoſe of our particular and peculiar Rights, Not to render us ſuſpected with the people towards the perſon of the King, Not to doe that which may ſtrengthen the hands of any Malignant Faction amongſt us, Not to publiſh ſuch things as may ſow the ſeeds of a diſunion, which will be equally deſtructive to both kingdomes, Not to think it our duty alone to keep the Covenant, And not to forget the honour, freedome, and ſafety of both the kingdomes.

Your Lordſhips ſay, you acknowledge you are to preſume the beſt concerning our intentions, but are not therefore to part with any intereſt or ſecurity, becauſe we are honeſt and faithfull, we conceive it unreaſonable you ſhould, and we never deſired it; But if you be not to part with any of your Rights, are your Brethren of *England* to part with any of theirs? Should you claime that from them, which your ſelves ſay they ought not to claim from you? If you are to preſume the beſt, what ground have you to ſuſpect the worſt, and make ſuppoſitions, that we will abuſe our Rights? Indeed my Lords, your expreſſions in your Paper, That your Army by their Oath of Allegiance, Your Committee of Eſtates by their Commiſſion, Your Officers by their Military Oath, ought to defend the King from *harmes and prejudices*; Your often repeating at the Conference, That the King came to your Army for *ſhelter and defence*, and therefore you are to preſerve him, may indure ſuch an interpretation, as if you deſired the people ſhould believe, the King needs ſhelter, defence, and preſervation from the kingdome of *Scotland*, and the Scots Army, againſt the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, And that the Parliament of *England* is more to be ſuſpected, and leſſe confided in, than the Scots Army: But if this be far from your thoughts, as we hope your Lordſhips will ſay it is, let it be alſo from your expreſſions from which ſuch Inferences may be drawne. To that you ſay the entring into the Covenant was

to wipe off the Calumny and aſperſion of Rebellion, it hath no relation to the queſtion in debate; Neither do we finde any ground how, or why the Parliaments of either kingdome could have been taxed with Rebellion, though they had never joyned in this Covenant; or if any ſuch aſperſions could have been deſervedly caſt upon them, how the Covenant could have wiped them off.

We have already anſwered what you here repeate for the Kings voluntary Reſidence in either Kingdome: and have already told you (with the reaſons why) that it is not to the Queſtion, Neither is the King in a condition for the exerciſe of the duty of his place; But if he were, your Lordſhips may reſt aſſured, the two kingdomes will never differ about his reſiding in the kingdome of *Scotland*, for his doing the duties of his place there. Your Lordſhips proceed, That it could not be expected from the Army, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairefax*, (if they were in *Scotland* for your aſſiſtance in like Caſe, as your Army is for ours) to deliver up the Perſon of the King, neither can it be expected from your Army.

This Argument might have been urged to us, if We had ever made any allegation to that effect; But We ſhall ſay even (Your Lordſhips owne word) the Army under Sir *Thomas Fairefax* in the like caſe, on the like Reſolution of the Parliament of *Scotland*, ought to deliver the Perſon of the King in *Scotland*, to be diſpoſed by the Parliament of *Scotland*: And now your Lordſhips receiving ſatisfaction in this your maine argument, We ſhall not doubt but you will acknowledge our Right, as We doe yours, and proceed accordingly.

In your next argument you returne (with an heavy taxe upon us) to the Law and Common practiſe of all Nations, not to deliver the meaneſt Subject, fled to them, though for the greateſt Crimes; and amplifie it, by our refuſing the act of remanding in the fourth of King *James*: And if the meaneſt be not to be delivered, how will the world abroade condemn your army for ſo *Baſe and diſhonourable an Act*, to deliver up the King, having caſt himſelfe into your hands, to be diſpoſed at our arbitrement? For (of us) your words of another Nation muſt be taken, We claiming the Right of diſpoſing of him in *England*.

This rightly underſtood, will give ſatisfaction to all the world in the juſtneſſe of our deſires, and we ſhall put the ſubſtance of the argument in ſuch words, as in rightly placing the ſtrength of it, none may be deluded.

It is thus: Every Kingdome challengeth the diſpoſall of the Perſons within their owne kingdome, though they be the Subjects of another kingdome; And on this ground it is cleare, that the Kingdome of *Scotland* hath not the diſpoſall of the meaneſt of their owne Subjects, in whom they have the ſole right, that Subject being in the Kingdome of *England*, much leſſe the diſpoſall of the Perſon of the King, who is in *England*, in whom you allow the Kingdome of *England* to have a joynt Right.

Your army in *England* (we follow your Argument on the Law of Nations) cannot be conſidered in any other condition than our owne army: and will any Nation ſay, if the King were in our army, that it were the leaſt baſeneſſe or diſhonour (But their duty) for them to deliver up the Perſon of the King to be diſpoſed by both Houſes of Parliament. The King is not in the kingdome of *Scotland*, and your army is in the kingdome of *England*; Is it not by your owne argument diſhonourable (to ſay no more) for us not to diſpoſe of the King in *England*; and we are confident your Lordſhips will reſt ſatisfied, that there was

no need of that expreſſion, that the two Houſes of Parliament ſhould claime or require that, which was *baſe or diſhonourable* for you to doe. To what you ſay that the King *caſt* himſelfe upon your army, and uſe the like phraſes in ſo many places of your Papers; We ſhall onely ſay, we had rather enjoy our owne Rights, than debate upon what Grounds the King came to your army, or if he had none, why he ſhould think himſelfe *more ſure* in that army, than in that of *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, or in that Engliſh army that joyned with yours in the ſervice before *Newark*: Or why Monſieur *Montreul*, a French Agent, to whoſe Lodging the King firſt came, was ſo many weeks at *Southwell*, the head Quarter of your army before *Newark*, notwithſtanding exceptions were taken by the Engliſh Committee againſt his the ſaid Agents being there.

And now we come to thoſe you call Objections, which being of your Lordſhips penning, and alſo the Anſwers to them, may be the more eaſily ſuited to your deſires. But the matter in debate being, that the kingdome of *Scotland* hath no right of Joynt exerciſe of Intereſt in diſpoſing the Perſon of the King in the kingdome of *England*, We ſhall place this our Aſſertion before your ſeverall Arguments or Objections againſt it, and then give Anſwers to them.

ASSERTION.

We doe affirme, That the Kingdome of Scotland *hath no right of Joynt exerciſe of Intereſt in diſpoſing the Perſon of the King in the Kingdome of* England.

1. Objection or Argument of the Scots Commiſſioners.

THat it is ſufficiently known, That the Scotiſh Army came not into this Kingdome in the nature of Auxiliaries, for when it was deſired by the Parliament of England, *that the kingdome of* Scotland *ſhould ſend an Auxiliary Army into this kingdome, to be ſubject to the directions and Reſolutions of both Houſes, it was abſolutely refuſed, as may appeare by the ſeverall Papers about that purpoſe yet extant; The kingdome of* Scotland *did foreſee, and conſider how prejudiciall it was to forſake their owne peace, and what infinite troubles, loſſes, and unavoidable danger their engagement with the Parliament of* England, *againſt ſo powerfull and prevailing an Enemy would bring upon the Kingdome of* Scotland, *and as they regarded not the large offers, nor the Threats of the other ſide for all their proſperity; ſo there was no offer of pay, or other worldly advantage whatſoever from the Houſes of Parliament, which would have induced them to undertake ſo hazardous and deſperate a War. It was the good of Religion, King, and Kingdomes they ſet before their eyes; In order to which end, they accounted nothing too deare unto them, and having reſolued to ingage in this cauſe, for aſſiſtance of their Brethren therein, they did not ſtand upon conditions, but without reſpect to the ſeaſon of the yeare. The great ſtrength of the Enemy and other diſcouragements, they did in a ſhort time leavy an Army at their owne charge, and becauſe of the many burthens then lying upon this Kingdome, were content for the preſent,*

to accept of a ſumme towards the monethly entertainment of that Army, amounting to little more than halfe pay, and to ſuperſede all demands for farther recompence, till the Warres ſhall be at an end. And eſpecially the Kingdome of Scotland was to quit their owne peace, and equally with England, to undergoe the hazard of the Warre, it was found reaſonable, that the proſecution thereof, and the making of the Conditions of Peace after the Warre, ſhould be with joynt advice and conſent of both Kingdomes, and according to theſe grounds a Covenant was agreed upon for the Reformation of Religion, and for preſervation of the Liberties of the Kingdomes, and of the Kings Perſon and Authority, together with a Treaty, wherein it is declared, that the Scotiſh Army ſhall be commanded by a Generall appointed by the Eſtates of Scotland, *and ſhall be ſubject to ſuch Reſolutions, and Directions, as are and ſhall be mutually agreed upon, and concluded between the Kingdomes, or their Committees in that behalfe appointed for purſuance of the ends of the Covenant, of which one is to defend and preſerve his Majeſties Perſon.*

Anſwer to the firſt Objection of the Scott Commiſſioners.

VVEre the things in this Objection ſo as they are ſet downe, yet it would not follow that therefore the Scotiſh Army ought not to deliver up the King to be diſpoſed by both Houſes, without the joynt advice and conſent of the Kingdome of *Scotland*. And here we might leave all that is contained in this Objection; But for that many things in it, when rightly recited (now at leaſt exceedingly miſtaken) are proofs for our aſſertion; and becauſe from the matter of fact, miſ-recited, there are many reflections upon us of ingratitude. Wee ſhall make a true ſtate of this buſineſſe from the truth of the matter of fact.

By the fourth Article of the Treaty, *the charge of Levying, Arming, and bringing your Forces together, furniſhed with a Traine of Artillery, was to be computed according to the Rates, as if the Kingdome of* Scotland *were to raiſe them for themſelves, and for the preſent to be done by the Kingdome of* Scotland *upon accompt to be repayed, or ſatisfied, when the Peace of the two Kingdomes is ſetled*, yet who ſhall read the words in your Paper, (*viz.*) that you did in a ſhort time levy an army at *your owne Charge*, would little have expected, that that which you call your *owne charge*, was to be *repayed*.

The fifth Article, "that this army be payed as if the kingdome of *Scotland* "were to employ the ſame on their owne occaſions, and towards the defraying "thereof, it not amounting to a full moneths pay (theſe are the words) not as "now in your Paper, LITTLE MORE THAN HALFE A MONTHS "PAY. Be monthly payed thirty thouſand pound ſterling by the Parliament "of *England*; and if the State of *Scotland* ſhall have juſt cauſe to demand farther "ſatisfaction when the peace of both Kingdomes is ſetled (for what?) for the "paines, hazard, and charges they have undergone in the ſame, they ſhall by "way of Brotherly aſſiſtance have due recompence made unto them by the Par"liament of *England*.

And when we finally agreed upon a ſumme in groſſe, the reſidue of the whole moneths pay proportioned according to your owne rates was given in, and claimed by your eſtimate, and together with all other demands for raiſing, and maintaining your forces, and for your paines, hazard, and charges ſatisfied by us, in the

the Groſſe ſumme of foure hundred thouſand pounds agreed to be payed unto you in lieu of all demands whatſoever. Can we now in reaſon conceive, that ſuch an Army in the kingdome of *England* ſo to be raiſed, and payed wholly by the kingdom of *England*, ſhould claim any right to detaine the Perſon of the King in their hands from his being diſpoſed in *England* by the two Houſes of Parliament? If we had foreſeen as much as your Lordſhips ſay you did, there would have been no ſuch debate as now is.

It is moſt true that by our Declaration of the 8. day of *November*, 1642. and 27. of *June* 1643. when we invited your coming in, and when on the 19. day of *July* 1643. Our Committees went to Treat with you to come to our aſſiſtance (whoſe arrivall at *Edinburgh*, was the 7. of *Auguſt*,) Our Enemies were powerfull and prevailing. It is alſo as true that all might have been loſt, had not the good providence of Almighty God, mercifully and ſeaſonably interpoſed in our greateſt ſtraits, and mightily changed the State of our affaires between the time of our invitation of you, and your coming in; between which time ninety three Colours of Horſe of the Earle of *Newcaſtle* his Army, were utterly deſeated in *Lincoln ſhire*, his old Army broken before *Hull*, the Kings Army (where himſelfe was in perſon) waſted at the ſiege of *Glouceſter*, That Siege raiſed, the City relieved, and that Army broken at the Battaile of *Newbury*, with ſome other happy ſucceſſes at *Alton*, *Arundall*, and other places; all which was to the great weakning of the enemy, and ſtrengthning of our party.

And whereas you will ſeeme to intimate that for the good of Religion, King, and kingdome, you did voluntarily forſake your own peace, though you had conſidered how prejudiciall it would be, and what infinit loſſe, trouble and danger, you ingagement with the Parliament of *England* would bring to the Parliament of *Scotland*; Yet we deſire you againe ſeriouſly to conſider whether *Scotland*, could have continued in Peace, if the King had here prevailed againſt us; had not you more hazarded your peace by ſitting ſtill, and letting a powerfull and prevailing enemy invade *Scotland*? Hath not laſt yeares experiance ſhewed you, what a party he might have found there? had it not been a greater charge to defend your ſelves upon your owne accompe than by aſſiſting this Kingdome to prevent your owne ruine at our charge? We cannot believe you can think you were out of danger, though it was then your lot, to be the furtheſt from it of the two Kingdomes.

We did never imagine, that the Treaty (no way diſ-advantagious to you) ſhould be looked upon as it ſeems it is, by theſe words; *We ſtood not upon conditions*, as if we ought to give you much *better conditions*: certainly if we, without any other relation, looke onely into the nature of the conditions, Auxiliaries might be had (and are daily had in other parts and of your Nation) on the ſame or lower conditions. We ſhould moſt gladly have omitted theſe things, but that they are moſt recited in your paper, and ſo often preſt upon us, and we hope we ſhall both take notice of mutuall obligements to make our Brotherly union more firme.

We ſhall before the world at all times manifeſt, that we ſhall goe along with them that ſet the higheſt value in your aſſiſtance, but we deſire your Lordſhips would not be inſiſting upon your own deſerts upon miſta'en grounds, lay reflexions of ingratitude upon us, of which you know We are not Guilty, We have before ſo fully anſwered your arguments, from the Covenant and Treaty, and ſhewed that they directly make good our reſolutions; as we ſhall ſay nothing in this

this place to them, but obſerve, that in this argument you mention the defence of the King twice from the Covenant, yet in both places leave out the words, *in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdomes.*

ASSERTION.

We doe affirme that the Kingdome of Scotland, *hath no right of Joynt exerciſe of Intereſt in diſpoſing of the Perſon of the King, in the Kingdome of* England.

2. Objection or Argument of the Scots Commiſſioners.

" THat although his Majeſty riding one dayes journey, might wholly ſubvert " the grounds of this Objection; yet we ſhall not inſiſt upon this anſwer, " becauſe we conceive it toucheth not the true ſtate of the queſtion; It hath been " already cleared, what is not, and what is the ſtate of the queſtion, which being " remembred, we doe aſſert, That the King coming voluntarily to the Scots Ar- " my, they cannot in duty deliver him againſt his will, to the Houſes of Parlia- " ment, without conſent of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, For the being in *England*, " takes not away the relation between the King and his Subjects of the Kingdom " of *Scotland*, nor ought it ro impede the performance of the mutuall duties " founded upon that relation, for Allegiance hath no limitation of place, being " grounded upon the Law of Nature, as well as the Law Municipall, and ſo is " rather Univerſall than Locall, the difference of place takes not away the relati- " on and mutuall duties between Parents and Children, and it is not the place, " but the Relation which gives intereſt to the diſpoſing of the perſon of the King, " as his being in *England* takes not away the Relation between him and his Sub- " jects of *Scotland*; So it doth not infringe the mutuall obligations, and ſolemne " ingagements between the Kingdomes for joynt Counſell in proſecution of the " Warre, and ſetling of Peace; The Kings coming to the Scotiſh Army, being " an emergency of our joynt Warre, and the right diſpoſall of his Perſon, the " onely meanes (for the preſent) of our joynt ſecurity and peace, neither can the " Kings being in *England* prejudice any right or priviledge of either Kingdome, " it is the fundamentall right, and priviledge of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and " the Liberty of that Kingdome, (as we acknowledge it to be the Right, and " Priviledge of the Kingdome of *England*) that the Perſon of their King ought " not to be diſpoſed of, but with their advice, and conſent, the place of the Kings " reſidence (as was anſwered to us, when in the large Treaty it was deſired, his " Majeſty might ſometime reſide in *Scotland*) is at his owne Election in either of " the Kingdomes as Exigence of affaires ſhall require, and he ſhall thinke fit, or " elſe muſt be determined by the mutuall advice, and conſent of both King- " domes.

" From all which grounds it is apparent, that the Kingdome where he reſides

" for

" for the time, may doe no Act, which may hinder his Majesty to performe the " Office and duty of a King to the Kingdome, from which he is absent in Person, " nor impede him to repaire to that Kingdome, when the affaires thereof shall " more strictly require it, otherwise if the Kingdome where his Majesty resides hath " the sole Interest, and right to dispose of his Person, the Estate of the Parliament " of *Scotland* might upon former occations, and may now, in case the King and " Prince shall repaire to *Scotland*, lawfully detaine them there, and make it " the place of the ordinary residence of them, and their posterity, without the con- " sent of the Kingdome of *England*, which we acknowledge could not be done " without a manifest prejudice, and injury to this Kingdome. Wherefore we can- " not but conclude, that whereseever the King be, in *Scotland* or *England*, he being " the King of both, ought to be disposed of, for the good, and with the consent " of both Kingdomes; and if it be considered, that the Scottish army was invited, " and called into this Kingdome by both Houses in a Treaty, for prosecuting the " ends of a Solemne League and Covenant, whereof one is to preserve and defend " his Majesties person, there can remaine no doubt concerning the exercise of " that Right and Interest in this Kingdome, and therefore it seems very strange, " that when upon invitation they are come into *England*, as for other ends, so to " defend his Majesties Person, Their being in *England* should be made use of as " an Argument why they should deliver up the Person of their King, to be dis- " posed of as both Houses shall thinke fit, whereas it is alledged that the Treaty " extends no farther, than to the ordering and regulating of the Scottish Forces in " relation to the Warre, although this be really answered from the nature of the " thing, The Kings coming to the Scots Army being an emergency of the War, " and so the delivering of his Person, comes under the Regulation and direction " of both Kingdomes, or their Committees, as an act of the Scottish Army, yet " that all doubt may be removed we farther adde, That it is cleare from the third " Article of the Treaty, that the Scottish army is to receive the directions of both " Kingdomes, or of their Committees in all things, which may concerne the pur- " suance of the ends of the Covenant, and Treaty, whether in Relation to Peace " or Warre. In the Eighth Article of the Treaty no Cessation, Pacification or " agreement for Peace whatsoever, is to be made by either Kingdome, or the Ar- " my of either Kingdome, without the advice, and consent of both King- " domes.

" And in the ninth Article all differences arising between the Subjects of the " two Nations are to be resolved, and determined by the mutuall advice, and con- " sent of both Kingdoms.

Answer to the second Objection or Argument.

HEREin is repeated what you have said before, some things are new, as that it begins with (viz.) *although his Majesties riding one dayes journey might wholy subvert the grounds of this objection, yet*, &c. But we shall never suppose the King being in *England*, our Brethren of *Scotland* will take him out of this Kingdome, neither will suppose what differences between the two Kingdoms one dayes journey might make: Its one thing if the King had come *duly* unto you into *Scotland*, and cleere another his coming to your Army in the kingdome of *England*:

You here repeate the Kings voluntary comming to your Army, and we say We desire not to debate on what Grounds he came, We never said his being in *England*, tooke away your relation to him, but that you have no right of disposing of his Person in this Kingdome, And by a former Argument of your owne from the Common Law and practise of all Nations, his being in *England* gives us a Right, if we had it not otherwise, and we desire your Lordships to consider, that by your Argument of the relation between the King and his Subjects, When you also assert the right of Mutuall *performance and exercise* of them, as well without as within each kingdom respectively in *England* as *Scotland*, or in *Scotland*, as *England*, you *confound the particular rights* of the two kingdomes, which would be a *great violation of the Covenant*, and if you may argue for your joynt consent, because the Kings coming to you was an emergency of Warre, You may by the same reason claime a joynt Interest in the disposing the Northerne Counties, and say they fell into your hands as an *Emergency of Warre*.

If in your allegation of the fundamentall Right of the kingdome of *Scotland* and the Liberty of that kingdome you meane in *Scotland*, We did never dispute against it, But if you meane in *England*, Then if we had taken the King before our Conjunction by the Covenant and Treaty, our disposing of him without your consent had been against the fundamentall rights of the Parliament of *Scotland*, which We are confident you will not say.

And your Lordships having agreed at the Conference, that the kingdome of *Scotland* hath no right of exercise of Interest in the kingdome of *England* but by the Covenant and Treaty, and the two Houses of Parliament did not enter into that conjunction with our Brethren of *Scotland* to put the particular rights of the kingdome of *England* into a worse but into a better condition, by that Conjunction, and the Covenant and Treaty doe provide accordingly, And that we have not parted with this right by the Covenant and Treaty we have formerly shewed.

You cannot apply the large Treaty, concerning the Kings voluntary residence, to this question whilst the King is not in a condition of exercising the duties of his place or disposing of his person into any of his kingdome, at his owne election as in times of setled peace, And if the King had been in *Scotland* in such a case as ours is, we should not have said more to your detaining of him, then we desire you should now say to us: And whereas your Lordship say, *It seems strange that you being come in upon invitation, as for ought ends so to defend his Majesties Person, your now being in* England, *should be made use of for delivery of the King to be disposed by us*, We understand not why the disposing of the person of the King in *England* by both Houses of Parliament, and the defence of his Person according to the Covenant, may not well consist together: We demand to dispose of the King, because the King is in *England*, and you of all other who come to defend our Rights should not violate them, and it would be much more strange, if any should thinke that when we invited you, that by your assistance we might preserve our interests, that we should invite you to dispose of our Interests.

You argue from the third article, the words whereof are, *That the Army be Commanded by a Generall appointed by the States of* Scotland, *and subject to such resolutions and directions, as are and shall be agreed and concluded on mutuall*

betweene the two Kingdomes, or by Committees appointed by them in that behalfe, for pursuance of the ends above mentioned, which are the ends expressed in the Covenant; We shall speake more of them in our answer to your next Objection.

You apply (but improperly) this third article for your joynt right of disposing with us the Person of the King in the kingdome of *England*, and why? b cause to defend and preserve his Person is one of the ends in the Covenant, you may as well say you have right of Joynt disposing all our Laws and Liberties, for to defend and preserve them, is one, and a maine one) of the ends in the Covenant.

Your arguments from the ninth article are before answered, and here you againe alledge the Covenant, and here againe, as in the former Objection or Argument, when you mention that you are to preserve the Person of the King, you leave out the subsequent words in preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the kingdome.

ASSERTION.

We doe affirme that the Kingdome of Scotland, *hath no right of Joynt exercise of Interest in disposing of the Person of the King, in the Kingdome of* England.

3. Objection or Argument of the Scots Commissioners.

"NO sooner did the King come to the Scottish army, but the very same day, "the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* residing with that army, did acquaint "the Commissioners of both Houses therewith, and not satisfying themselves "with this, the day following, they writ a Letter to the Committee of *Scotland* re- "siding at *Edenborough*, and another to the Committee of both kingdomes here, "(which was Communicated to both Houses) desiring the advice of this king- "dome as in a matter of common Interest, & declaring they would obey the joynt "Resolutions of both kingdomes, yet no answer or advice was returned unto "them, either from the Houses or their Commissioners, but immediately after the "surrender of *Newarke*, they received information that five thousand Horse and "Dragoons from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Army, were upon their march towards "them Northward (which the Honourable House of Peers was pleased to give "order to stop) there being no Enemy in those parts to be opposed, upon consider- "ation whereof, the Quarters wherein they had stayed during the siege of *New- "arke*, being extreamly exhausted, and the service for which they came thither "being performed, for preventing of mistakes or new troubles between the king- "domes, they removed into *Yorkshire*: and the King as he came unto them of his "owne accord, did voluntarily march along with them, upon severall occasions, "afterwards they and we did earnestly desire the Honourable Houses to send "a Committee to joyne and co-operate with the Committee of Estates there "upon the place, in all things according to the Treaty, but no answer was

" returned, and from time to time, the Houſes acquainted with the proceedings in " that Army, which were according to the Covenant, and the known reſolutions " of both Kingdomes, to debarre all ſuch of either or both Kingdomes as had " been in arms againſt the Parliament from coming into their Quarters, or to the " Court, or to the Kings Perſon, according to the deſire of the Houſe of Peers; " and whereas it is affirmed, that by the Treaty the Scotiſh army ought to doe " nothing without a joynt reſolution of both Kingdomes, or their Committees, " there is no ſuch clauſe in the Treaty, but they are to be ſubject to ſuch reſolu- " tions as are and ſhall be agreed upon and concluded mutually between the king- " domes or their Committees, as by Ordinance of Parliament the Army under " the command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, or of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was to receive and " obſerve the directions of the Committee of both kingdomes ſitting at *Weſtmin-* " *ſter*; but in caſe no new directions were ſent unto them, they were left to ſo- " mer Orders, if any were, or otherwiſe to their owne judgement and diſcretion. " There was never any ſuch reſolution agreed upon between the kingdomes or " their Committees, as that the Scotiſh army ſhould not receive the King, if he " came unto them: But 'tis an agreement between the kingdomes (in the Cove- " nant) that they ſhould preſerve and defend his Majeſties Perſon; and (in the " Declarations of both kingdomes) to reſcue him from the common Enemy: So " that the Scotiſh army having often deſired to know the direction and advice of " the Houſes of Parliament concerning the King, and no new directions being " ſignified unto them, according to the Treaty they were to obſerve the directions " & reſolutions for merly agreed upon between the kingdoms: & as the Scots army " do and will ever acknowledge that they claime no power to diſpoſe of the Kings " perſon, but are ſubject to, & ſhall be ready to follow whatſoever both kingdoms " ſhall agree upon, as beſt for the King and kingdomes; ſo their keeping and " preſerving his Majeſties perſon (as they would doe to any perſon of his emi- " nency and relation, in a marmy or Garriſon Towne) without the leaſt thought " of hindring his voluntary returne to his Parliament, cannot be reputed or called " a diſpoſing of his Perſon.

The third Anſwer.

THe truth is thus; on Tueſday the fifth of *May* laſt, our Committees be- fore *Newarke*, had notice the King was come to *Southwell*, the head Quar- ter of your Army there, before they heard any thing from your Committees of it, who ſent two of their Number to give our Committees notice of the Kings com- ing to *Southwell*; which two did promiſe to deliver to the reſt of their Number the deſires of our Committees, That the King might not remove from *Southwell*. And afterwards our Committees hearing the ſame day the King came to your Army, that your Army was preparing to march, told your Committees of it, and of their former deſire, That the King might remaine at *Southwell*: your Com- mittees denyed there was any intention in your Army to march. And to the de- ſire of the Kings not removing from *Southwell*, they ſaid, he was gone to *Kelham* before they heard from our Committees. Whereupon our Committees earneſt- ly preſſed them, the King might returne back to *Southwell*, and not to be at *Kel- ham*, where the Body of your Army lay, to Cajole, or diſturbe your Souldiers; but

but could not obtaine the consent of your Committee thereunto. The next day our Committees hearing that your Army had disposed of their Provisions, and sent in for many Carriages, did againe complain to your Committees, who again absolutely denyed it, and said nothing should be done without our Committees having notice: Nevertheless, the next day being Thursday, your Army marched away, and tooke the King with them; and when your Army were on their march, and not before, some of your Committees acquainted ours with it. Now it is most evident, that by the Treaty our Committees being equally to command and direct your Army as your owne, and your Army obliged by the Treaty, equally to obey them as a joynt Committee, if you have any right, because the King came to your Army, the King came to our Committees as to yours, and they had in that respect equall power to dispose of him. But what was done is before expressed.

You say you did write to the Houses, and your Paper intimates one reason of your going was, because you heard not from the Houses: You wrote on *Wednesday*, and marched away the next morning: Could you expect a returne from the two Houses in that time, the distance being a hundred miles? You alledge your march was after the surrender of *Newark*, when as it was only after the Commissioners for the Treaty had agreed, but before the agreement was signed by the Committees and Governour of Newark, and the Towne was not surrendred till the next day, which was done on some emergency a day sooner than was agreed on by that Treaty.

And shall we think that your Army should march away on the rumour of 5000 Horse and Dragooms of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army marching Northward? But how-ever, there was no such thing, nor did any such Order of the House of Peers, as your Lordships mention, ever come to the Army of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; nei her did the Generall, Lieutenant Generall, nor any other Officer that ever they heard of, know of any such Order, till your Lordships mentioned it in your Paper of the 10. of *October* last. And if they had marched, they are under the command of the Parliament, and have shewed themselves faithfull and serviceable, and God hath exceedingly blessed their service to the good of both Kingdomes.

This being the true state of that businesse, Our Committee of both Houses being upon the place at the siege of Newark, and not so much as advised with by your Committees, what was fit to be done with the Person of the King (the disposing of whose Person with your joynt consent you now make a matter of so high concernment) but your army contrary to engagement not to remove without the knowledge of our Committee, removing and taking the King with them, without any notice given to our Committee before their march, though nothing but a river parted the two armies, with which our Committees did then reside. Your Lordships will now thinke our Committees had reason to desire to returne; and there was little encouragement for any other Committee to goe downe to your army, especially considering that you tooke Carlile from the English forces there, against the consent of the Committee then upon the place. And that when your army was at Bramham-Moor, a little before the King tooke *Leicester*, (the King then being very strong, and our affaires in a hazardous condition) they were earnestly pressed by our Committee, then a joynt Committee with them, according to the Treaty to march Southwards; but contrary to their desires,

and aginſt their conſent, your Army marched away Northward.

It is true, that you ſent out Orders to debar all ſuch of both or either kingdoms as had been in Armes againſt the Parliament, from comming into your Quarters, or to the Court, or to the Perſon of the King: And tis as true, that they did come notwithſtanding that Order, and yet no man puniſh'd for breach of thoſe Orders, that ever we heard of.

Your Lordſhips ſay, there is no ſuch clauſe in the Treaty as that the Scotch Army ſhould doe nothing without a joynt reſolution of both Kingdomes, or their Committees; and thence inferre, you having no joynt reſolution to the contrary, you might march away. But it is moſt evident from your Argument (for your example, the Army under the Earl of *Eſſex* or Sir *Thomas Fairfax* is not at all applicable to your inference) that 'tis wholly in your power whether the Kingdome of *England* ſhall ever joyne in directing of your Army or not. You had no Committee for fifteen weeks before *Newark*, and all that time our Committee could not order your Army for want of yours to joyn with them; when yours did come, they having a negative voice, did not agree to our Committees deſires for the Kings ſtay at *Southwell*, or acquaint them with your Armies going away, but denyed it to them. So as that maine thing in the Treaty to joyn in ordering your Army is both by you practice and aſſertion in your Paper rendred uſeleſſe.

And in this argument alſo is the Covenant recited for the defence of the perſon of the King, and the words, *In the preſervation of Religion and the Liberties of the Kingdomes* (a maine clauſe, without which the other part ought never to be mentioned) are left out. Certainely, my Lords, we ſhould never have argued thus from the Covenant and Treaty. And here you ſay againe as formerly, Your Army claimes no right to diſpoſe of the King: but we ſay that *de facto*, they do diſpoſe of him, and muſt by your argument ever do ſo, unleſſe we agree to the joynt conſent of the kingdome of *Scotland* for diſpoſing of the King in *England*, and that from ſuch grounds as, if admitted, would intereſt the kingdome of *Scotland* in the government of the kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, elſe you will not conſent; and unleſſe you conſent, you ſay your Army ought not to part with him: ſo as he is to be diſpoſed by you in *England*, without our conſent, but not by us in this kingdome without your conſent, which ſure cannot be found in the Covenant.

In the next place is that which you call a fourth objection: We ſhall place our Aſſertion, and recite what you call your Anſwer in your owne words.

ASSERTION.

We doe affirme, That the Kingdome of Scotland *hath no right of joynt exerciſe of Intereſt in diſpoſing of the Perſon of the King in the Kingdome of* England.

The

The fourth Objection or Argument of the Scots Commissioners.

THere is a wide and manifest difference betwixt the relation the Scottish Army hath to any Subject of England *and the relation they have to their King, which are sufficiently distinguished in the third and fourth Articles of the Covenant; For by the one they are mutually obliged to preserve and defend his Majesties person, and by the other they are obliged to endeavour that all Incendiaries and Dividers between the King and his People, or betwixt the Kingdomes, be brought to triall and condign punishment before the supreme Judicatures of the Kingdomes respectively: and the Kingdome of* Scotland *hath equal right and interest with the Kingdome of* England *in the disposal of the person of the King, which they cannot pretend unto concerning the person of any subject of* England.

The fourth Answer.

THis contradicts what you have formerly said, That one coming to another Nation ought not to be remanded, though for the greatest crime.

And let your Lordships consider, that your Army in *England* is not the kingdome of *Scotland*: And here also you recite the Covenant, as to the defence of his Majesties person: but omit the subsequent words, *in the preservation of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes.* And as all persons in both kingdomes who have taken then Covenant, have bound themselves before Almighty God, to defend the Kings person in the defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the kingdomes; so are they to doe it onely in their *severall Vocations*, without intrenching upon *each others Rights and Priviledges*: for which reason also Incendiaries were reserved to the triall of the supreme Judicatories of the kingdomes *Respectively*, that their severall jurisdictions might not be *prejudged or confounded.*

That which you call your fifth Answer we shall also set downe.

ASSERTION.

We do affirme, that the Kingdome of Scotland *hath no right of joyns exercise of interest, in disposing of the Person of the King in the Kingdome of* England.

The fifth Objection or Argument of the Scots Commissioners.

IT hath beene sufficiently answered before, that the Scottish Army neither hath, nor will take upon them to dispose of the King: he came unto them without Capitulation or Treaty, his residence with them is voluntary and free, & they doe nothing which may binder

Him.

Him to come to his Houſes of Parliament; but if the Kingdome of Scotland *ſhould conſent to the deſire of the Houſes, that they may have the ſole diſpoſall of the perſon of the King, it being that which comes in the place of the peace and ſecurity of both Kingdomes, they would really quit the right and intereſt they have by the eighth article of the Treaty concerning the making of a Peace. For whatſoever of the Kingdomes is acknowledged to have the ſole diſpoſall of the King, may without the other make peace with him, when, how, and in what termes they pleaſe.*

The fifth Anſwer.

IT is moſt true, it hath often been ſet down in your Papers, That your Army neither doth nor will take upon them to diſpoſe of the King: yet we know that *de facto* they do diſpoſe of him. You ſay, He came without capitulation or treaty: we againe deſire you will not put us upon that debate. You alledge, that his reſidence is voluntary and free; yet you ſent us word that you had ſet a ſtrong guard upon him; and you cannot ſay, that the Covenant, Treaty, or fundamentall Right of the Scotiſh Nation are, that he ſhould be in voluntary freedome with Us, but in reſtraint with You.

You argue, That the ſole diſpoſall of the King comes in place of peace, which is not ſo, unleſſe you will grant that you have now made peace, for you have the ſole diſpoſall But all this is before more at large.

ASSERTION.

We doe affirme, That the Kingdome of Scotland *hath no right of Joynt exerciſe of Intereſt in diſpoſing of the Perſon of the King in the Kingdome of* England.

The ſixt Objection or Argument of the Scots Commiſſioners.

WE will not diſpute what power the Houſes of Parliament formerly had to diſpoſe of the perſon of the King; but whatſoever power or right they have, the like is due to the Parliament of Scotland; *and ſo the perſon of the King being common to both, and indiviſible, cannot be diſpoſed of but by conſent of both Kingdomes. It were another queſtion indeed, if it were as in former times, if we had different Kings, if there were not an Union of the Kingdomes under one Head and Monarch, if there were neither Covenant nor Treaty between the Kingdomes. But ſince all theſe are, and that the peace and ſecurity of both Kingdomes is ſo much concerned in the diſpoſall of the King, not any one of them without the others can juſtly pretend to the ſole Judgement and Right to determine what is beſt and moſt expedient for the ſafety and ſecurity of both; nor can it in reaſon be made an Argument that the one Kingdome diſtruſts the other, becauſe the one will not renounce and reſigne all right and intereſt they have in the perſon of the King, and matter of their owne ſecurity and peace to the judgement and determination of the other: Otherwiſe, according to this Argument, where there is any truſt, there*

ſhould

should be no contract between person & person nor Treaty between Nations: Or if there be any Treaty or Agreement the performance or not performance of it is to be left to arbitrement But we cannot see that this doth argue any diffidence or distrust more than when private persons lending money to the Publique, desire security, and will not depend upon pleasure: And therefore though it is not to be questioned but the Houses of Parliament would dispose of the person of the King, so as might consist with their duty in performing the Covenant and Treaty; yet this can be no argument why the Scotish Army should neglect their duty, or the kingdome of Scotland *quit the interest and right they have in the person of the King.*

The sixth Answer.

WE have never alledged that the Parliament of *Scotland* hath not the like exercise of interest in *Scotland* as we desire to have in *England*, and yet this is often objected against us. But we doe averre the right of exercise of interest is distinct to each Nation: And from your owne argument: if we doe not deny this right to *Scotland*, why should you deny it to *England*? The Union of the Kingdomes under one Head doth no more confound the exercise of particular rights, than if under severall Heads. We never desired you to renounce any right of the kingdome of *Scotland*; let us have the same measure.

By your Argument it must follow, That by *Englands* having the King of *Scotland*, the Kingdome of *Scotland* should be King of *England*: For although the Person of the King be not divisible, yet his relations are divisible both in their nature and their exercise: the King of *England* and the King of *Scotland* are one man, but they are not one thing. And though those relations are not divisible from his Person, yet is the exercise of them divisible from his Person, as his person is divisible from either or both of the kingdomes; and as the kingdomes are divisible from each other in place and in power, in right and in interest, within their severall precincts: and the exact preservation of this distinction is the best meanes to prevent a worse division.

And if, as you say, your desiring not to part with your right doth not argue any diffidence in Us, now that it is shewed you of no right, why will you be diffident of Us, to hinder the exercise of our particular rights?

That which you call your last Objection was an answer to your Reply.

ASSERTION.

We doe affirme that the Kingdome of Scotland *hath no right of Joynt exerciſe of Intereſt in diſpoſing of the Perſon of the King, in the Kingdome of* England.

7. Objection or Argument of the Scots Commiſſioners.

"IF this argument were turned over, the ſtrength or weakneſſe of it may the "more eaſily appeare. Suppoſe the King were here at *Weſtminſter*, it may "be upon the ſame grounds urged, That the kingdome of *Scotland* would have no "conſent in his diſpoſall; and ſo much the more, that the Houſes claime the ſole "intereſt and judgement to diſpoſe of the Kings perſon, which we deſire may be "done joyntly, as may be beſt for the ſecurity and ſafety of both kingdomes. And "we ſee no reaſon why it may not now be determined, when he is in the Scotiſh "Army, (who were intruſted by both, and ſubject to the reſolution of both king-"domes) as well as hereafter, ſince he came thither of his own accord, and his "reſidence there is voluntary; and if his Majeſty ſhall think fit to repaire hither "to his Houſes of Parliament, they ſhall do no act, which may either hinder or "diſſwade him; but cannot conſtraine him or deliver him to the Houſes, to be "diſpoſed of as they ſhall think fit.

The ſeventh Anſwer:

YOu object, your Army cannot part with the King without the conſent of the kingdome of *Scotland*; The kingdome of *Scotland* cannot conſent, unleſſe they may joyn in the diſpoſall of his perſon; they will not joyne till it be agreed that he be diſpoſed of for the good of both kingdomes: And can any thing then be more plaine, than that the King is then to remaine where he is (as we have ſaid before) untill you will be ſatisfied? And being where he is, we know, and ſo do you, that he is diſpoſed of againſt Our conſent. And if this argument were turned over, it would remaine good: For we doe ſay, The kingdome of *Scotland* had not right of joynt intereſt in diſpoſing of the perſon of the King, if he were at *Weſtminſter*; neither ſhould we claime any, if he were duly at *Edenburgh*. And if this be a good argument, it will follow, That you ſhould have ſome of your Nation to reſide continually with us, to adviſe and conſent to what places the King ſhall go upon every occaſion of his remove, and upon every accident that may happen; conſidering the temper and condition of theſe times may call for ſuddaine and different reſolutions, and ſuch as they are capable onely to judge of, and to apply remedies unto, who are upon the place.

We doubt not your Lordſhips are ſatisfied, that the coming of the King to your Army was with a deſigne on his part againſt the good of both kingdomes; which,

which, with his denying the Propoſitions, being among you, are not arguments that he ought to be left to his owne will and pleaſure.

Upon the whole tract in your Papers we ſhall from brotherly affection let you know, (to prevent the like for the future) That your Papers ſeem to be prepared, printed, and publiſhed to captivate the hearers and readers, to trouble their fancies, and hinder the right underſtanding of the Queſtion; that they may be led by an implicite beliefe; and ſeem to hold forth, That you will ſo manage your affaire, as that if any difference ſhould happen (which God forbid, and we ſhall alwayes endeavour to prevent, though it ariſe elſewhere) it may be laid on the Houſes of Parliament: Your Papers throughout intervolving things of ſev rall natures, miſ-reciting ſo many matters of fact, holding forth examples and ſimilies, which if urged by Us, were unreaſonable; as if they were applicable to the preſent debate, which yet they are not, that many readers and hearers, though they know not how to apply them to the queſtion between us, yet may think they are to it, becauſe the Scots Commiſſioners would not elſe have inſerted them.

Having thus cleered the right of the Parliament of *England*, in diſpoſing the perſon of the King in the kingdome of *England*, We come now to the Propoſitions. But before we fall into the particulars of them, we ſhall give a ſhort anſwer to your letter of the 24. of *October* laſt. You expreſſe therein, That the Scots army having had no pay for ſix moneths, have been forced to take free quarter: which we wonder to ſee, when your army taketh 19700 l. monethly in money, beſides much free-quarter. And we ſent your Lordſhips an account of this, which we received out of the North; beſides which they have had for one yeare, ending the laſt of *October* laſt, ſeventy two thouſand nine hundred ſeventy two pounds two ſhilling, and eleven pence for the cuſtome and other impoſitions upon Coals onely.

Your Letter ſeemes very compaſſionately to conſider the miſery of the Northern parts; but the wayes you propoſe of remedy extend the benefit of your compaſſion, eſpecially to the Scots army; the which Armies removing into freſh quarters in *England*, were to make them feel as much miſery as thoſe it would leave. We ſhall provide what money we can to enable the Scots army to march into *Scotland*: but you know we are not engaged to you for two hundred thouſand pounds in preſent, as your Letter implies. But this is before more at large.

But whileſt you would not have the King to go into *Scotland* (for you ſay that is prejudiciall to both kingdomes) neither would you have him goe into *Ireland*, or beyond ſea, (becauſe you ſay that would not be a way to preſent peace, but certainly prognoſticate new trouble: and whileſt you will not let the Parliament diſpoſe of his perſon in *England* according to their right; and the Parliament cannot admit of a joynt right in you of diſpoſing his perſon here (for that were to admit a *Joynt Right* in you in all the *Liberties of this Kingdome*,) how ſhall any be ſatisfied that this queſtion, concerning the diſpoſing of the perſon of the King, ſhall not retard the marching of the Scots Army out of this Kingdome? Will they not enquire what will the Scots doe with the perſon of the King, when their army marcheth out of the kingdome? To which, we hope, it will be anſwered, Our Brethren of *Scotland* are ſatisfied the Parliament of *England* will, according to their right, diſpoſe of the perſon of the King in the kingdome of *England*. And your Lordſhips may reſt aſſured the perſon of the King will be diſpoſed by

the Parliament of *England*, as may beſt conduce to the good, union, and happineſſe of the two kingdomes.

The Propoſition you make for the King to come to us with honour, freedome and ſafety; or that Commiſſioners may once againe be ſent in the name of both kingdomes, with power to heare his deſires, and to endeavour the ſatisfaction of doubts and ſcruples, is the ſame in ſubſtance made by himſelfe in his anſwer to the Propoſitions ſent him by both kingdomes; but that you alſo propoſe that ſome may be ſent to the King, and he deſires to come hither; and your Lordſhips will not think they are more reaſonable when made by you for the King, than when made by the King for himſelfe.

And whereas your Lordſhips find a difference in the times, when both kingdoms ſent to the King, in anſwer to his Letters of the 26. and 29. of *Decemb.* laſt, deſiring to come hither, for that he had then both Garriſons & field Forces unreduc'd We deſire your Lordſhips to remember, That although thoſe paſſages of his, having Garriſons and Forces, be in the Letter, yet the maine matter inſiſted upon was in theſe words, ***We conceive, that untill Satisfaction and Security be firſt given to both Your Kingdomes, Your Majeſties coming hither cannot be convenient, nor by us aſſented unto.*** And which doth further appeare in another Letter ſent from the Parliament and your Lordſhips in *March* laſt, in anſwer to a letter of the Kings of the 23. of the ſame *March*, wherein the ſame words of *Satisfaction and Security* are againe expreſſly repeated; and there hath not been any act done by the King ſince that time that hath in the leaſt given Satisfaction or Security to This kingdome: But however, your Lordſhips well know, That the King, at the ſending of the ſaid laſt Letter, had no Forces in the Field, nor Garriſons unblockt up; and he hath as many Forces now, when you make theſe deſires for Him, as He had when to your unſpeakable grief (as you ſay in your Papers) He in His deniall to grant the Propoſitions ſent him from both kingdomes, made then the ſame Deſires for Himſelfe.

Your Lordſhips recite our anſwer to His Majeſties Meſſage of the 11. of *September* 1642. to which we ſhall need ſay no more; there is a large Difference between what is to be done to prevent a War, which the Common Enemy did begin by keeping the King from us, and what is to be done after ſuch a War to ſecure a Peace.

To ſecure which, and to preſerve Brotherly Union between the two kingdoms, which we moſt earneſtly and from our hearts deſire, we ſhould uſe all meanes conducing thereunto, and endeavour to prevent all waies of Separation, and if we be in any, to haſten out of them, the true end of our Covenant and this War being, that neither of us may be under any Oppreſſions. Let us both act for the common good of both, and each enjoy our particular Rights, ſuch Union is ſtrong and will be laſting; but where one gaineth upon the particular Rights of the other, and then argueth that he muſt keep it, and the other bear it; To avoid Diſunion, ſuch arguments are not to be often uſed, and ſuch attempts are to be forborne, leſt they make a breach in Brotherly Union, which God forbid.

But we are confident the Right of the kingdome of *England* will be acknowledged, and we poſſeſſed of it, and we ſhall make it appeare how little cauſe there is

is for thoſe groundleſſe inſinuations in your Speeches and Papers, as if the Parliament of *England* were averſe from their antient and Fundamentall Government, by *King, Lords* and *Commons*, which we had thought the Declaration of the Houſe of Commons of the 17. of *April*, 1646. ſufficiently cleared to the whole World, or that they were not as really forward as any, for the procuring of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, which is the greateſt and chiefeſt of our deſires; and it will be manifeſt to the judgements and conſciences of all, That as we really indeavoured the good of the King and both Kingdomes, ſo ſhall we conſtantly and faithfully perſevere in thoſe endeavours, Not doubting, but upon our ſincere performing our Covenant and Treaties, the bleſſing of God will ſo accompany us, as there will be a moſt ſweet and Brotherly agreement between the Nations, and ſuch a concluſion as will be pleaſing to God, and wherein both Kingdomes ſhall finde greateſt comfort and happineſſe.

It is now I ſuppoſe ſufficiently manifeſt by the foregoing Declaration and Anſwers of the Houſes to *the Papers of the Scots Commiſſioners*, What *their Practices* were during their reſidence in this Kingdome, and how deeply reſented by the Parliament; Which may alſo ſerve to ſhew what Ground I had, and juſtifie the Truth of all thoſe Paſſages, concerning *their Carriage and Proceedings*, which in my anſwer I have laid open to the view of the World, upon ſo great occaſion given me by *this Pamphleter*, in caſting ſuch foule ſlanders upon honeſt men of this Nation, to excuſe the unworthy Actions of *his Scots*.

I ſhall onely adde, for the Readers ſatisfaction, That the Declaration of the Parliament *concerning the Papers of the Scots Commiſſioners*, was drawne up and prepared for the Houſes conſideration, by Mr. *Nathanael Fiennes*; and the Anſwer to their Papers, by Mr. *William Pierepont*, both Members of the Houſe of Commons.

That it may the better appeare, that The foure BILLS ſent to the King at the Iſle of Wight, *contained onely things abſolutely neceſſary*, viz. *That the Parliament and Kingdome might be ſecured in the enjoyment of their juſt Rights and Liberties for the future; and juſtified in their ſtanding for the defence of them; I have here ſet downe the* BILLS *themſelves.*

The foure BILLS ſent to the King to the Iſle of *Wight* to be paſſed.

Soit Baillie aux Seigneurs,
A Ceſte Bille les Seigneurs ſont aſſentuz:

An Act concerning the raiſing, ſetling and maintaining Forces by Sea and by Land, within the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*.

BE it Enacted by the Kings Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by authority of the ſame, That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* now aſſembled, or hereafter to be aſſembled, ſhall, during the ſpace of Twenty years, from the firſt of *November*, 1647. Arme, Traine and Diſcipline, or cauſe to be Armed, Trained and Diſciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raiſed both for Sea and Land-Service, and ſhall appoint all Commanders and Officers for the ſaid Forces; and ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty yeares, Raiſe, Leavy, Arme, Traine and Diſcipline, or cauſe to be Raiſed, Levied, Armed Trained and Diſciplined, any other Forces for Land and Sea-Service, in the Kingdomes, Dominions and Places aforeſaid, as in their judge-

judgements they ſhall from time, to time during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty yeares thinke fit and appoint: And ſhall from time to time, appoint all Commanders and Officers for the ſaid Forces, or remove them, as they ſhall ſee cauſe; and ſhall likewiſe Nominate, Appoint, Place or Diſplace, as they ſhall ſee cauſe, all Commanders and Officers within the ſeverall Garriſons, Forts and Places of ſtrength, as ſhall be within the Kingdomes of *England*, *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*: and that neither the King, His Heires or Succeſſors, nor any other, but ſuch as ſhall act by the authority or approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons, ſhall during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty yeares, Exerciſe any of the powers aforeſaid. And be it farther Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That Moneyes be Raiſed and Levied, for the maintenance and uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land-ſervice, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea-ſervice, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch wayes and meanes, as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty yeares, thinke fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe; and that all the ſaid Forces, both for Land and Sea-ſervice, ſo Raiſed or Levied, or to be Raiſed or Levied; and alſo the Admiralty and Navy, ſhall from time to time during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty yeares, be Imployed, Managed, Ordered, Diſpoſed or Disbanded by the ſaid Lords and Commons, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch wayes and meanes as they ſhall thinke fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the ſaid Lords and Commons, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty yeares, ſhall have power in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch wayes and meanes, as they ſhall think fit and appoint, To ſuppreſſe all Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed without Authority and Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of the publique Peace of the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Towne of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them; and alſo to ſuppreſſe any Forraigne Forces, who ſhall invade, or indeavour to invade the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Towne of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them; and likewiſe to conjoyne ſuch Forces of the kingdome of *England*, with the Forces of the kingdome of *Scotland*, as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty yeares, judge fit and neceſſary, to reſiſt all Forraigne Invaſions, and to ſuppreſſe any Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, againſt or within either of the ſaid kingdoms, to the diſturbance of the Publique Peace of the ſaid kingdomes, or any of them, by any authority under the Great Seale, or other Warrant whatſoever, without conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons of the Parl. of *England*, and the Parliament or the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* reſpectively: and that no Forces of either kingdomes ſhall goe into, or continue in the other kingdome, without the advice and deſire of the ſaid Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England*, and the Parliament of the kingdome of *Scotland*, or ſuch as ſhall be by them reſpectively appointed for that purpoſe. And be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That after the expiration of the ſaid Twenty yeares, neither the King, His Heires or Succeſſors, or any perſon or perſons, by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion, Power, Deputation or authority to be derived from the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of them, ſhall Raiſe, Arm, Traine, Diſcipline, Imploy, Order, Manage, Disband, or Diſpoſe any of the Forces by Sea and Land, of the kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, the Domi-

nions

rion of *Wales*, Isles of *Guernsey*, and *Jersey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or of any of them, nor Exercise any of the said Powers or authorities beforementioned and expressed, to be during the said space of Twenty yeares in the said Lords and Commons; nor doe any Act or Thing concerning the Execution of the said Powers or authorities, or any of them, without the consent of the said Lords and Commons first had and obtained. And be it further also Enacted, That after the expiration of the said Twenty yeares, in all cases wherein the said Lords and Commons shall Declare the safety of the Kingdome to be concerned, and shall thereupon passe any Bill or Bills, for the Raising, Arming, Training, Disciplining, Imploying, Managing, Ordering, or Disposing of the Forces by Sea & Land of the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or of any part of the said Forces, or concerning the said Admiralty or Navy, or concerning the Levying of Moneys for the Raising, Maintenance, or use of the said Forces for Land-service, or of the Navy and Forces for Sea-service, or of any part of them: and if that the Royall Assent to such Bill or Bills shall not be given in the House of Peers within such time, after the passing thereof by both Houses of Parliament, as the said Houses shall judge fit and convenient, That then such Bill or Bills so passed by the said Lords and Commons as aforesaid, and to which the Royall Assent shall not be given, as is herein before expressed, shall nevertheless, after Declaration of the said Lords and Commons made in that behalfe, have the force and strength of an Act or Acts of Parliament, and shall be as valid to all intents and purposes, as if the Royall Assent had been given thereunto. Provided alwayes, and be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That nothing herein before contained, shall extend to the taking away of the ordinary Legall Power of Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Majors, Bayliffs, Coroners, Constables, Headboroughs, or other Officers of Justice, not being Military Officers, concerning the Administration of Justice; so as neither the said Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Majors, Bayliffs, Coroners, Constables, Headboroughs, and other officers, or any of them, doe Levy, Conduct, Imploy, or Command any Forces whatsoever, by colour or pretence of any Commission of Array or extraordinary command from His Majesty, His Heires or Successors, without the consent of the said Lords and Commons: and that if any Persons shall be gathered and assembled together in Warlike manner, or otherwise, to the number of Thirty persons, and shall not forthwith separate and disperse themselves, being required thereto by the said Lords and Commons, or Command from them, or any by them, especially authorized for that purpose; Then such Person and Persons not so separating and dispersing themselves, shall be guilty, and incur the paines of High-Treason, being first declared guilty of such offence by the said Lords and Commons, any Commission under the Great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary notwithstanding: & he or they that shall offend herein, shall be incapable of any Pardon from his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and their Estates shall be disposed as the said Lords and Commons shall thinke fit, and not otherwise. Provided also further, That the City of *London* shall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties and Franchises, Customes and Usages, in the raising and Imploying the Forces of that City for the Defence thereof, in as full and ample manner, to all intents and purposes, as they have or might have used or injoyed the same at any time before the sitting of this present Parliament.

Soit Baillè aux Seigneurs,
A Ceſte Bille les Seigneurs ſont aſſentuz:

An Act for juſtifying the Proceedings of Parliament in the late Warre, and for Declaring all Oaths, Declarations, Proclamations, and other Proceedings againſt it to be void.

WHereas the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, have been neceſſitated to make and proſecute a Warre in their juſt and lawfull Defence; and thereupon Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations have been made againſt them, and their Ordinances and Proceedings, and againſt others for adhering unto them, and for executing Offices, Places and Charges by Authority derived from them; and Judgements, Indictments, Outlaries, Attainders and Inquiſitions for the cauſes aforeſa d, have been had and made againſt ſome of the Members of the Houſes of Parliament, and other his Majeſties good Subjects, and Grants have been made of their Lands and Goods: Be it therefore Declared and hereby Enacted, by the Kings Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by Authority of the ſame, That all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations, heretofore had or made againſt both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or any the Members of either of them, for the cauſes aforeſaid, or againſt their Ordinances or Proceedings, or againſt any for adhering unto them, or for doing or executing any Office, Place or Charge, by any Authority derived from the ſaid Houſes, or either of them; and all Judgements, Indictments, Outlaries, Attainders, Inquiſitions and Grants thereupon made, and all other Proceedings for any the cauſes aforeſaid, had, made, done or executed, or to be had, made, done or executed, whether the ſame be done by the King, or any Judges, Juſtices, Sheriffs, Miniſters, or any others, are void and of no effect, and are contrary to and againſt the Lawes of the Realme. And be it farther Enacted and hereby Declared, by the Authority aforeſaid, That all Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, Majors, Sheriffs, Conſtables, and other Officers and Miniſters ſhall take notice hereof, and are hereby prohibited and diſcharged in all time to come, from awarding any Writ, Proceſſe or Summons, and from pronouncing or executing any Judgement, Sentence or Decree, or any way proceeding againſt, or moleſting any of the ſaid Members of the two Houſes of Parliament, or againſt any of the Subjects of this Kingdome, for any the cauſes aforeſaid.

Soit Baillé aux Seigneurs,
A Ceſte Bille les Seigneurs ſont aſſentuz.

An Act concerning Peers lately made, and hereafter to be made.

BE it enacted by the Kings Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That all Honour and title of Peerage conferred on any ſince the twentieth day of *May*, 1642. (being the day that *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, deſerted the Parliament, and that the ſaid Great Seale was ſurreptitiouſly conveyed away from the Parliament) be and is hereby made and declared Null and Void. Be it farther enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That no Perſon that ſhall hereafter be made a Peer, or his Heirs, ſhall ſit or vote in the Parliament of *England*, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

Soit Baillé aux Seigneurs,
A Ceſte Bille les Seigneurs ſont aſſentuz.

An Act concerning the Adjournments of both Houſes of Parliament.

BE it declared and enacted by the Kings Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by the authority of the ſame, That when, and as often as the Lords and Commons aſſembled in this preſent Parliament ſhall judge it neceſſary to adjourn both Houſes of this preſent Parliament, to any other place of the kingdom of *England*, than where they now ſit, or from any place adjourned the ſame againe, to the place where they now ſit, or to any other place within the kingdome of *England*; That then ſuch their Adjournment and Adjournments to ſuch Places, and for ſuch time as they ſhall appoint, ſhall at all times, and from time to time be valid and good, any Act, Statute or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding. Provided alwayes, and be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that no Adjournment or Adjournments to be had, or made by reaſon or colour of this Act, ſhall be deemed, adjudged, or taken, to make end, or determine any Seſſion of this preſent Parliament.

FINIS.

Reader, Notwithstanding the care employed in Overseeing the Presse, some Faults are escaped; which thou maist thus Correct.

PAg. 10. l. 18. r. conscientious *man*. p. 17. l. 5 r. lay *bonds*, l. 33. r. *in* the name, l. 40. r. needed *not*. p. 18. l. 23. r. *maintaining*, l. 44. for *scarce*, r. *secure*, l. 46. r. *the* Rules. p. 19. l. 23. r. *trinkling*, l. 35. r. *be*. p. 20. l. 26. r. shall *hear of*. p. 21. l. 1. r. *Hudson*. p. 23. l. 33. r. *manifest*, l. 37. r. *to* provide. p. 24. l. 14. r. *Cards* be new. p. 26. l. 42. dele *sharp*. p. 27. l. 5. r. an *infatuation*. p. 28. l. 32. r. of *those*. p. 29. l. 10. r. he *said*, l. 32. r. needs *make*. p. 30. l. 19. r. *never* came. p. 31. l. 42. r. *our* wits. p. 32. l. 1. r. *Protestants*. p. 34. l. 27. r. suffer *no*, l. 30. r. *Subordinata*. p. 36. l. 15. r. little *piety*, l. 25. r. zeale *comes*. p. 39. l. 35. r. *Baylie*, ibid. r. Minister and. p. 40. l. 26. r. *Politicks*. p. 47. l. 39. r. *crosse* examined. p. 53. l. 21. r. *Generals*. p. 55. l. 14. r. *layn* that, l. ult. left r. *lost*. p. 56. l. 16. r. *Waller*, l. 17. offering, r. *affecting*. l. 40. r. *Countrey*. p. 65. l. 23. Darby, r. *Danbie*. p. 114. l. 30. r. I *shall end* my, l. ult. r. *there* will. p. 115. l. 47. dele *Parenth*. p 116. l. 41. for *twenty*, r. 200. p. 118. l. 4. r. they *might*, l. 38. r. *designed*. p. 119. l. 16. r. else *where*, l. 30. r. *Guardians*, l. 31. r. *this reason*, l. 40. r. *readily*, l 41. r. *engage*. p. 120. l. 6. r. *bayardly*. p. 121. l. 5. r. *their* care. p. 125 *for* that it, r. *it hath*. p. 159. l. 47. r. some Grievances to the Parl. p. 43. l. 35. r. get the *money*.

In the Decl. and Answ. of the Parl. &c.

Pag. 12. l. 34. r. *Thraldom*. l. 44. r. *Counsels*. p. 13. l. 38. r. *and* assenting. p. 25. l. 17. r. *Circumstances*. p. 32. l. 12. r. which *were* they, l. 16. r. the *one* side. p. 53. l. 40. r. *your* Nation. p. 63. l. 45. r. *by* insisting.